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I

THE WEST INDIA COMPANY

(To 1628)

The Netherlands had been fighting Spain for liberty since 1568, with England and France for allies. In 1579 the southern Catholic provinces yielded to Alexander Farnese, but the seven northern provinces in 1581 proclaimed their complete independence, and, with varying fortunes, fought on, toward the twelve years' truce agreed upon in 1609.

During this long war the Netherlands, through various East India companies, acquired profits and possessions in the orient. Encouraged by amazing success there, they turned inquiring eyes north, to Greenland, south to Brazil, and they by no means overlooked the Caribbean, in the west.

Henry IV. of France became interested in the possibilities of conquest and of revenues which he saw were open in distant quarters of the world. Together, experienced Dutchmen and the French king considered establishing a French East India Company. To protect the Dutch East India Company in which the government as government was concerned, from the rivalry thus threatened, the Netherlands' states-general in 1606

¹ Based on documents preserved in the General Archives of the Indies, Seville, Spain.

conceived a plan of diverting Henry's attention from the east, by suggesting, through their French ambassador, François Aerssens, and François Francken, the establishment of a West India Company. Francken had repeatedly discussed this with the able navigator and merchant, William Usselinx, with Linschoten, and the learned Plancius. Oldenbarnevelt (universally acknowledged political leader of the United Netherlands) was ready to adopt a plan of a West India Company with Holland capital and French support, as he saw an opportunity of inflicting injury in Spanish America.²

That such a project existed was known to the archduke, Albert, who represented Spain in the loyal southern provinces. Prior to November of 1606 he informed³ Philip that "among Hollanders and merchants" there existed a scheme to raise an armada of seventy or eighty ships and six thousand men, the king of France contributing along with them, "up to a total of eighty thousand ducats and a thousand francs a day". This armada was to attack Puerto Bello and Cartagena, and especially the island of Cuba. The principal objective was Havana, in seizing which port it was intended to cripple Spanish colonial commerce irremediably. The expedition was to clear for Indies in the spring of 1607.

"But in 1607 practical difficulties", presenting themselves to the Dutch,

seemed too great to warrant the execution of this plan. Merchants were afraid to risk their capital; the increasing hope of peace (with Spain) decided Oldenbarnevelt and other statesmen not to add to their (already serious) difficulties in East India (any further complications in the Spanish West Indies). The matter was dropped, to the great annoyance of the zealous Usselinx, who thought that this company promised "the greatest traffic in the world".⁴

Philip, however, was not immediately convinced that the danger of a West Indian Company was not imminent.

² Petrus Johannes Blok, *History of the People of the Netherlands* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900), III., *The War with Spain*, pp. 296-7.

³ A. de I., 147-5-16, *Junta de guerra* to crown.

⁴ See above, Note 2.

He referred the archduke's warning to the council for war in Indies.⁵ *Cedulas* were despatched⁶ to Governor Valdes, at Havana warning him of Dutch designs on that part. His attention was called to the harbor of Matanzas where, the crown was informed, this enemy got supplies (as the French had very long been doing), from an estate which Valdes was asked to consider removing farther inland. Don Pedro seems to have felt livelier alarm lest invaders come into his capital by a nearer route, via Chorrera, where, he said⁷, Maldonado's saw mill and sugar estate exposed the road to the town. Conclusion of the truce of 1609 quieted this alarm: the West India Company was not to materialize until twelve years later.

Article V. of that truce contained a general stipulation

that there should be mutual freedom of trade (between Spaniards and Netherlanders). In the Spanish dominions within Europe, the inhabitants of those provinces could not trade without the king's express permission, but outside of them should be allowed full freedom of entry. In a secret article, this permission herein mentioned was expressly given by the deputies from the enemy (Spain) in the name of the king and the archdukes, "on condition that the trade be free and assured".⁸

These agreements can have affected Dutch traders in Indies very little: both before and after conclusion of the truce, they

⁵ See above, note 2. As "by all means the most important and efficacious opposition which may be offered to everything which the enemy can attempt and the most certain means to frustrate his designs", the council recommended the creation of a Caribbean squadron (*armada de barlovento*), the history of which the author has given in another article so entitled, published in *La Reforma Social*, New York, in 1919. Also, while turning to Alonso de Sotomayor for accurate information as to the condition of things in Havana, the council recommended that the crown appoint to the governership of Cuba, to succeed don Pedro de Valdes, at this juncture (October–November 1606) "suspended", as a consequence of Nuñez de Toledo's *visita*, some person who should be "very much of a soldier, made to defend places, entirely satisfactory in his administration of both military and civil affairs", who, with a hundred and fifty men to reinforce the garrison at Havana, should depart for Cuba at once, in fast vessels. Eventually, Ruiz de Pereda was chosen to succeed Valdes.

⁶ A. de I., 78-2-2, V. 5, p. 70 r., *cedula*, November 20, 1606; 54-2-8, memorandum for a *cedula*, February 18, 1607.

⁷ A. de I., 54-1-16, Valdes to the crown, Havana, July 13, 1607.

⁸ Blok, *History of the People of the Netherlands*, III., *The War with Spain*, p. 311.

sailed westward out of Netherland ports to carry spoons, forks, knives, wines, cheese, butter, and negroes to Indies, and returned thither with hides, sugar, tobacco, and dyewood—or did not return, as their luck may have run. No matter what rights they may have acquired under the truce of 1609, to Spaniards in Cuba they, like all other foreigners, remained pirates (heretics and enemies), that is, persons with whom business must, unfortunately, be done more or less surreptitiously.⁹

⁹ When Manso de Contreras finished his campaign against illicit trade between the colonists of Cuba and foreigners, the king had been assured (1607-8) that the *vecinos* of the island said they would kill, or at least stone out of the *res publica*, any person who indulged in *rescates*, ever again. "It seems incredible," Manso de Contreras himself admitted, that the evil of illicit traffic should have been so completely eradicated. On April 14, 1612, Governor Pereda reported it as "most certain" that this nefarious business was reviving. On December 18, 1612, in writing of the prize money which proceeded from Valdes's campaigns against pirates, Governor Pereda said that through all these years Cuba's coasts were infested with "small pirate craft". They did damage to the king's subjects who lived by the coasting trade, for they were prone to pillage by sea; they also did damage to the king's revenues, for they captured the market when they came ashore, to barter. The English were abroad: of ten pirates captured on the Isle of Pines in the spring of 1612, seven were of that nationality. "For worthy reasons" the life of one was spared; the rest were executed. In Spain it was at this time (1611) considered best policy to placate the English, and orders were issued to spare the vessels of the king of Great Britain all cause for complaint, but if these orders were ever addressed to Cuba they at least arrived too late to save the men in question. These pirates informed Pereda of the English colony of Virginia; that Jamestown existed was news to him. The Spaniards understood that the French were out with some sort of authority from their government: some said that they were cleared by the French authorities, but at their own risk. It would seem that French courts (1615) held that vessels taken west of the Terceras were lawful prizes. The crown could think of no remedies for the situation: no removal of causes was attempted—only the old superficial treatments of effects. In 1614, the president of the council was peremptorily ordered to put a stop to all communication between Spaniards in Indies and foreigners along the coasts: without awaiting further provocation, past infractions of the laws against such intercourse were to be punished, and those officials who might have prevented it, but had failed to do so, were to be deposed from office. Penalties against communication with enemies were to be increased, "in order to inspire terror in those concerned". Governor Pereda was most interested to learn who in Cuba were most concerned, in favoring these enemy traders: he knew that without encouragement it would not have been possible for them to linger off shore so long, so comfortably. Certainly they had friends on land. These friends, however, were not the merchants and traders of the island, with whose interests the illicit business which the colonists transacted with pirates constituted a ruinous competition.

Their activities gave the king of Spain no rest at all. When he bought ship-building materials of them and admitted their vessels to Havana to deliver same, the materials not only turned out to be unsatisfactory, but a clerk aboard, who was said to be an old pirate, made the most of the opportunity offered him by the freighter's stay there, to sound and chart that harbor!¹⁰ Behind every such incident his majesty descried great governmental designs to seize and hold ports or islands of the Caribbean, especially Havana. Nor were his fears unjustified: Dutch commerce had built the Netherlands an empire in the orient.

Usselinx, whose dream it was that it should do as much in the occident, revived the project for a West India Company,

and carried it so far by 1614 that the estate of Holland finally gave ear to his representations. But the opposition of Oldenbarnevelt and the East India Company again caused the failure of his plans, and Usselinx went back to the Beemster. . . . And not alone Usselinx had turned his attention to the west. . . . The East India Company itself was continually seeking a shorter route to India by way of the western hemisphere.

Now it was that Hudson, in the service of that company sought the northwest passage; and found instead his river and his bay.

The publication of a placard of the states-general in 1614, wherein a forty years' commercial monopoly in the localities was offered to those who should discover "any new passages, ports, lands or localities," aroused a still greater zeal for discovery in the west. A Company of New Netherland was founded. This established Fort Nassau and another fort on the island of Manhattan at the mouth of the Hudson, while the American coast was further explored and the voyages thither continually increased."¹¹

The king of Spain, however, was less disturbed by these humble beginnings of mighty matters in the north, than he was by events on the southern continent and around the smaller,

¹⁰ A. de I., 147-5-17, *Junta de guerra* to the crown, April 30, 1612, etc. (see 143-5-5).

¹¹ Blok, *ut supra*, III., *The War with Spain*, pp. 329-330.

neglected islands of the Caribbean, which lie in a curving line from Florida to the Orinoco. Holland and Zealand owners, banded into companies, even before the truce had sent out "more than two hundred ships"¹² on business cruises; a damaging proportion of them frequented the shores of Brazil, Guayana, Araya—the coasts of the Caribbean and all its islets; whereon, along with their friends, the French and English, the Dutch were becoming permanently at home.

As the twelve years' truce between Spain and the Netherlands wore on, both parties to it came to realize that it would not be renewed, nor converted into a peace. So, too, war with England threatened Philip: it was in 1617 that Sir Walter Raleigh was permitted to undertake his expedition to the Orinoco. Informed of this, and fearing further aggression, the crown in 1618¹³ reinforced the garrisons of Porto Rico and Santo Domingo; Havana was to get any surplus men, and it was at this time, too, that Santiago de Cuba received a garrison of twelve and certain arms and munitions.¹⁴

Because it was believed¹⁵ (in January, 1619) that the Dutch contemplated aggression against Havana, Alonso de Sotomayor was sent¹⁶ there with arms, munitions and biscuit. The governor¹⁷ was instructed¹⁸ to lay in still more supplies, and to arm the townspeople—at their expense—adding as many of them as he might see fit to the forts' garrisons. He was warned not to rely upon Havana's strength, nor upon the difficulties an enemy must overcome to attack the place, nor on the existing truce, because the preparations which were being made in the Netherlands indicated that to capture so important a place, the Dutch were ready to undertake and to risk, anything. All the Indies were advised that a project against Havana was afoot, and of the

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ A. de I., 78-2-2, VII., p. 46 r., *cedula*, September 18, 1618.

¹⁴ A. de I., 78-2-2, VII., pp. 46 r., *cedulas*, September 18, 1618.

¹⁵ A. de I., *Junta de guerra* to the crown, January 22 and January 26, 1619.

¹⁶ A. de I., 78-3-9, VII. pp. 143, 144, *cedulas* concerning Alonso de Sotomayor.

¹⁷ The governor was now Sancho de Alquiza, who had succeeded Pereda.

¹⁸ A. de I., 78-2-2, VII., p. 63, *cedula*, February 12, 1619.

possibility that, failing there, the Dutch would endeavor to console themselves elsewhere.¹⁹

In 1620 the council for war in Indies expressed the opinion²⁰ that

given the state of affairs in Germany, England and Holland . . . a small occasion will suffice for the Hollanders to disregard what is left of the truce, and for the English to break the peace,

which small occasion the council thought they were likely to discover in the despatch of Spanish auxiliary armies to Germany.

Whether a definite plan to attack Havana was formulated in the Netherlands, at this time, or not, certainly the West India Company was shaping up. Oldenbarnevelt had fallen from power and the indefatigable Usselinx believed that his removal opened opportunity to his designs on Spanish possession of the west. Usselinx therefore returned in the autumn of 1618 from Zealand, whither he had fled to escape his creditors, and came to Holland to act as adviser to the states of that province and to the states-general, in the matter of the new company and its charter. He could not even now carry out all of his plans, nor impose what he considered essential ideas,²¹ wherefore he with-

¹⁹ The *cedula* addressed to Alquiza, and the arms, munitions, and supplies which Sotomayor brought, arrived in Havana after that governor's death. Quero was in command. He reported that he had put Havana into good shape and meant "to try to punish the enemy as advantageously as possible". He bade the governor of eastern Cuba mobilize men and supplies, to send to Havana if they were needed, and he informed Mexico of the situation, preparatory to calling upon the viceroy for help, if necessary. Quero stated that to enable him to provide for Havana's forts as ordered, 30,000 ducats would be required, whereas there was not "one single real" in the treasury. He purposed calling on passing armada generals for money.

²⁰ A. de I., 147-5-18, *Junta de guerra* to the crown.

²¹ "Usselinx was a stern Calvinist and enemy of all heretics and erring spirits, and he now desired not only a limitation of the power of the directors over the shareholders, better and completer accounts, the planting of colonies of freemen closely bound to the mother country, but also the promotion of civilization and Christianity among the natives, and especially a regular supervision by the state of the doings of the merchants "who have gain for their north star and greed for a compass, and who would believe the ship was keeping to its right course, if it were almost wrecked by profits." Little heed was paid his ideals. He disapproved of the scheme as finally agreed upon and entered the service of the king of Sweden, still in hopes from that northern court to realize his great plans.

drew from the business, to which he had given all his years and all his means.

The truce with Spain expired in 1621. The West India Company was chartered on June 3 of that year. It was not²² simply a commercial corporation; it was also a political association formed to injure an enemy, to stanch the source of his power, and perhaps to develop its own and the Netherlands' revenues and empire in that enemy's territory, at his expense. In the orient the Dutch had already demonstrated not only the defects, but also the ruthless efficiency of such an institution. The king of Spain was not unaware of them.

Neither was he unadvised as to what were supposed to be this West India Company's piratical intentions, at the very commencement of its career. Via England, where its organization was resented because it might interfere with English designs on Guiana, he was informed some months before its chartering that the company's purpose was to capture that year's galleons.

In September, 1621, from Brussels, the *infanta* Isabel sent²³ Philip IV. a map, and details, said to come from a reliable source, of what she was assured were the company's designs on Havana via Matanzas. Havana was the objective, for the Dutch reckoned it to be the vital center of the Indies trade. Because they believed the place to be strongly held, they considered that it would be unwise to attack it directly, even with all their might; instead, they planned to seize Matanzas bay, fortify it, establish a permanent colony there, whence, the intervening woodlands having been destroyed by fire, the Dutch would attack Havana from land, on which side they understood that it was weak. Whoever presented this scheme to the company, displayed accurate and appreciative acquaintance with Matanzas bay, the lay of its fertile lands and its fresh waters, its climate and the fact that Spaniards had not improved any of these natural advantages. It was held that from Matanzas as a strongly fortified base, the company would be able to play havoc with Spanish shipping frequenting Havana, *i.e.*,

²² Blok, *ut supra*, IV., pp. 3-5.

²³ A. de I., 147-5-8, September 24, 1621.

with all of it, from the southern continental shore of the Caribbean, from the Isthmus, from Mexico. They would be aided, it was said, by the Spaniards' erroneous supposition that navigation was not feasible from Matanzas through the Bahama channel; the Dutch claimed to have learned better, by experience.

This plan against Matanzas, and Havana, having been laid²⁴ before the council for war in Indies—in the words, it was said, of the Dutch themselves—the council recommended that the governor²⁵ be ordered to inspect Matanzas, in company with engineers and other intelligent persons, and send a map of the port and plans for fortifications there, these fortifications to be provided with guns and garrison from Havana at small expense; but, the council added, in recommending that the governor send a map of all the island as well, and report on other ports, it was no lack of fine harbors which had deterred, or would deter, the Dutch from such a project as this described. The council believed that they might make their choice of even better locations than Matanzas. The real difficulty—indeed, the impossibility—of such a scheme, lay in cost of maintenance, once a base were established. The Spaniards believed that English experience in Virginia and Bermuda had demonstrated as much: Philip was assured that these outposts had through many years cost England dear without returning any profit whatsoever.²⁶ The *cedula* to Venegas was duly issued, ordering him to inspect, map, and report on Matanzas.²⁷

No sooner had the council so comfortably disposed of this alarm than the ambassador, Cardinal de la Cueva, sounded it again, from Brussels, in reporting²⁸ that Count Maurice was

²⁴ A. de I., 147-5-18, *Junta de guerra* to the crown, October 23, 1621.

²⁵ Venegas had succeeded Alquiza, deceased. In 147-5-18, there is an undated memorandum of what appears to be an order in council to indite a *cedula* to Venegas.

²⁶ This view with respect to Virginia is especially clear in a set of documents bearing on the subject, which Dr. Jameson has recently secured from the archives of Simancas and Seville. See "Spanish Policy toward Virginia, 1606-1612," in the *American Historical Review*, vol. XXV, No. 3, by I. A. Wright.

²⁷ A. de I., 78-2-2, VII., p. 143, October 28, 1621.

²⁸ A. de I., 147-5-8, March 5, 1622.

secretly and rapidly arming three vessels in Zealand, intended for some enterprize in Indies; he, too, mentioned Matanzas.

Former Governor Pereda, then in Brussels, on being consulted in the matter, and shown a Dutch map of Cuba, called²⁹ attention to the fact that he had previously expressed fears for Matanzas. Nevertheless, he believed that the enemy would not find it easy to attack Havana overland from as far away as that harbor; he knew the intervening country to be rough, wooded, threaded only by narrow trails. He thought that the saddles the Dutch were said to be carrying along, would be of little service on the ponies which were all the mounts they would find. Heat and mosquitoes would trouble them. One great advantage the Spaniards possessed: they were acclimatized, whereas the Dutch were not. Pereda foresaw that sickness would fight on the Spaniards' side. Without depleting the ordinary garrisons, Havana could muster six hundred men armed with arquebuses, pikes, and very few muskets. Thirty-five or forty horsemen would be available, mounted on "reasonably" good animals, and armed with lances and targets. The east could send up not more than two hundred men, who would be badly armed, but valuable in their acquaintance with the country. He believed that a great danger lay in the negroes of the island, slaves, and *cimarrones* "who all desire liberty". If they joined the enemy they would be useful as guides and in building fortifications, at no cost to his supplies, since they would continue to live on bananas, *cazabe*, and wild cattle. Pereda thought it unnecessary to describe "the inquietude and notable damage" which would result if the Dutch fortified themselves at Matanzas, forming a base there for naval operations. Fleets and armadas en route to Spain must pass that harbor. He called attention to the facility with which it could be reached from both Virginia and Bermuda, and thence from it.

Some persons believed³⁰ that it was Count Maurice's intention to attack Morro Castle, at Havana, or the promontory of the same name at Santiago de Cuba. Venegas was warned.³¹ He

²⁹ A. de I., 147-5-8, March 4, 1622.

³⁰ A. de I., 54-2-20, Juan de Cirica to the president of Indies, March 16, 1622.

³¹ A. de I., 78-2-2, VII., p. 152 r., March 27, 1622.

replied³² that Morro castle at Havana was by reason of its position almost impregnable; moreover, it now possessed fifty bronze guns, eighteen to ninety-seven hundred weight, and a garrison of two hundred soldiers. It commanded the country for two leagues around. There were at Havana two other forts, and still other soldiers, to a total fighting force of eight hundred well trained men; thirty of them, cavalry. He was not inclined to fancy that Count Maurice would attack with three ships out of Zealand. Surely it must be Morro at Santiago which was threatened.

Again, in August of 1622, the crown referred to the council for war in Indies further advice from Flanders³³ that the Dutch purposed establishing a strong naval base in Indies. In November following, Venegas was warned³⁴ again: Count Maurice's three vessels had become six 600-ton ships, three 300-ton ships, three caravels and four supply ships. The governor was told to be on guard, but not to alarm the country or to occasion unnecessary expense. Venegas replied³⁵ that neither was this expedition enough to reduce his majesty's forts at Havana, and since the land in itself offered little bait (in gold, silver, or jewels), he still felt sure that the Dutch would waste no time, men, or powder on Cuba.

In Spain, in the spring of 1623, the idea nevertheless persisted³⁶ that the enemy's objective in Indies was Matanzas. The Dutch expedition was now described as twenty vessels, approximately two thousand men, with building tools among their baggage. It was reported to have sailed on April 29th—for Havana, for Matanzas, for Cape San Antonio, or for San Miguel (ten or twelve leagues from Panama), or for the salt beds of Araya. In fact, this first fleet of the West India Company, under Lhermite and Willekens, held its course straight for

³² A. de I., 54-1-17, Venegas to the crown, August 12, 1622.

³³ A. de I., 54-2-10, August 12-13, 1622.

³⁴ A. de I., 78-2-2, VII., p. 194, November 24, 1622.

³⁵ A. de I., 54-1-17, Venegas to the crown, April 15, 1623.

³⁶ A. de I., 147-5-8, Secretary Cirica to the *Junta de guerra*, March 30, 1623; memorandum, dated April 11, 1623; royal order, May 2, 1623.

South America.³⁷ On May 26, 1623, Venegas was warned³⁸ again: to expect at San Anton, or Havana, or Matanzas, the Prince of Orange's fleet (it was so designated), consisting of twenty large vessels, forty guns, and one hundred and fifty men each, outside the crew. The crown expected Venegas³⁹ to have inspected Matanzas ere this. He was ordered to keep Havana well protected, but at the same time to defend that neighboring port.

Through 1624, fear of the Dutch did not abate. It considerably disturbed the usual course of Spanish traffic from Indies. Normally, there were still the two fleets a year from Spain, one to Mexico, and one to Tierra Firme. The galleons of the guard accompanied the latter. The former, being less protected, was especially liable to be forbidden to sail at all, in times of danger.⁴⁰ It had been the rule for these two fleets to meet in Havana harbor and recross the Atlantic together, for mutual protection. A couple of galleons from Honduras carrying very valuable cargoes also made Havana their rendezvous. This arrangement occasioned delay, especially to the merchants of Mexico, whose fleet was usually the first to arrive at Havana. It therefore became usual for them to leave their more precious cargo and specie in Havana's forts, to be picked up, at one

³⁷ A month after it had gone the council for war in Indies was still arguing to the crown that it would be impossible for the Dutch to take Havana, with its eight hundred or a thousand fighting men and three castles—impossible, if the governor in charge were a soldier. Venegas, now, the council described as an honorable gentleman—but a sailor. The council was assured and so assured the crown, that the enemy could not sustain a force of fifteen or twenty thousand men, for fifteen days, in Cuba: the climate would spoil their food, and the eating of it would breed sickness, which alone would suffice to destroy the invaders. It had been suggested that the Dutch might fortify themselves on Cape San Antonio. This notion the council dismissed, relying upon an informant who was certain that as good statesmen as the Dutch were would direct their attentions to more profitable regions.

³⁸ A. de I., 78-2-2, VII., p. 203 r., May 26, 1623.

³⁹ A. de I., 147-5-8, Venegas to the crown, September 5, 1622.

⁴⁰ For instance, in 1606-7, when its omission incommoded Havana, and gave excuse for petitions to clear "loose vessels", *i.e.*, which sailed independently of the fleets, with foodstuffs for that port.

period by Texeda's frigates⁴¹ and later by the galleons of the guard, when they came by, escorting the Tierra Firme fleet, the Mexican fleet meanwhile proceeding on its way home alone: twenty, thirty or more merchantment convoyed by a *capitana* and an *almiranta* and each pretty well able to defend itself.

When the *armada de averia* to guard the Indian trade routes was established, at Seville's expense, in return for Seville's monopoly of Spain's colonial trade⁴², it consisted of eight galleons and three shallops. In 1611 scarcity of money eliminated two galleons. To cover this weakness in numbers it was ordered in 1612 that the Mexican fleet should again await the galleons in Havana and cross with them, but, presently, the risk of danger from enemies seeming less expensive than the certain delay to the merchant fleet, it again became usual for the vessels from Mexico to come on without waiting for the galleons, for which, however, they left their more valuable cargo in Havana.

These galleons of the guard, which loaded Peruvian silver and gold at the Isthmus, and at Havana picked up still more gold and silver from Mexico and Honduras, had succeeded Texeda's frigates to the romantic title of "plate fleet". Though they continued to convoy merchantmen to and from the mainland, it was a matter of discussion whether they should be so handicapped or not, in their chief duty, which was to fetch themselves with the plate safe home. The king in Spain was always well pleased to learn that his Mexican merchant fleet had cleared, or arrived, safely; but it was for the armada of these galleons of the guard, and for the cargo they carried, that he appropriated six or eight hundred ducats a year, or more, to buy candles and prayers. "God bring them safe home", was his annual petition. When the Almighty was pleased to permit storm or enemies to

⁴¹ The author has dealt with the interesting matter of these admirable frigates in a paper which was presented before the Congress of the Spanish Society for the Progress of Sciences at Seville in 1917, and printed in *La Reforma Social* (New York).

⁴² The author has shown the effect of this monopoly on Cuba in a paper entitled *Rescates* which was presented before the Congress for the Progress of Science at Bilbao in 1919, and published in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* (Washington), August, 1920.

interfere with the granting of this prayer, his most Catholic majesty was divided between surprise and resentment; when his desires were granted he accepted that indication of divine favor with relief and complacency.⁴³ To capture this armada was supposed to be the grand desideratum of the Dutch.

Early in 1625, because of rumor that this enemy purposed attacking the Mexican fleet in the vicinity of La Tortuga, the governor at Havana was ordered⁴⁴ to patrol the sea from San Anton to Tortuga, and to advise that fleet, and the armada, if hostile sails were seen. No plate was sent from Peru that year, for the viceroy there believed that the enemy was out in force upon the Pacific. Havana rejoiced when the Honduras galleons came in, safe.⁴⁵

On November 7, 1625, the acting governors⁴⁶ of Havana first heard that the Dutch had landed on Porto Rico (September 25) and were besieging Governor Juan de Haro in his castle there. The West India Company achieved a great success in the conquest of Bahia, or San Salvador, in Brazil, seat of the Portuguese

⁴³ On September 5, 1622, the armada and the mainland fleet it convoyed, twenty-seven or twenty-eight sail, under the Marqués de Cadereyta, were struck by a hurricane one day out from Havana. It is recorded that eight vessels, three of them treasure galleons, and five hundred persons, were lost. The *almiranta*, which was the galleon *Margarita*, was among these; she went down on Matamoras keys off the Florida coast and her sunken hulk was for years thereafter a goal for pirates and for Spanish salvaging expeditions, seeking to recover the bullion and specie she took down. The Mexican fleet was also damaged by this storm. This bad luck was made the occasion, if it was not the cause, of a moratorium in Spain. In 1623 Oquendo's armada and the mainland merchantmen got into Havana on September 12, and after two attempts to leave which were defeated by bad weather, decided in early October to winter in that harbor. Eight frigates which came up from Honduras that year in company with the two regular galleons, arrived twelve days after the Mexican fleet had cleared, and were, therefore, held up with the mainland galleons for the winter. This armada left for Spain on April 9, 1624, and en route home two galleons were lost. On his arrival Oquendo and his subordinates were subjected to investigation because of this delay in Havana, and the loss of the two galleons in transit. All this occasioned hard times in Seville.

⁴⁴ A. de I., 147-5-18; 87-5-2, VII., p. 202 r., *cedula*, March 16, 1625.

⁴⁵ A. de I., 54-1-17, Dr. Velazquez de Contreras to the crown, Havana, July 30, 1625.

⁴⁶ Venegas had died. Aranda was *gobernador de la guerra*; Velazquez, *gobernador de la paz*. A. de I., 54-2-10, November 7, 1625.

government, where the vice-admiral, Pieter Pieterzoon Heyn, distinguished himself uncommonly⁴⁵; but Bahia had been recovered in this year of 1625 by a Spanish-Portuguese armada, under don Fadrique de Toledo, and so ousted from there, the Dutch had descended upon Porto Rico. On November 16 two vessels with men, munitions and supplies left Havana⁴⁷ to relieve Haro. Havana at once appealed to Mexico for more powder and biscuit.⁴⁸

On November 16—the very day Havana's reinforcements were despatched—the enemy left Porto Rico. It was understood⁴⁹ that his plan was to careen his ships, come on to Cuba, and attack the fleet off Cuban coasts. Up to late March, 1626,⁵⁰ Havana had no news of him; in April it was said⁵¹ that he had sacked La Margarita. In May or very early June, fourteen or more sail were reported⁵² from Saint Philip's keys, near the Isle of Pines. There the Dutch captured a frigate whose escaping crew they insulted with a Spanish epithet ("*Bellacos españoles!*") called after them, with a foreign accent. This enemy squadron sailed under a tricolor flag, striped red, white, and blue. On June 14 the Dutch were at Cabañas.

A slave named Matheo Congo brought the news to Havana, telling how, at eight o'clock on the morning of that day, enemy frigates and launches had entered that harbor⁵³. Spaniards and negroes who were building a ship there for Juan Perez Oporto, and the owners and workmen of nearby cattle ranches, all fled toward the town. The Dutch burned the unfinished vessel and killed hogs and hens. They then sailed on, and lay to off Havana, a menacing aggregation of about twenty-three sail.

⁴⁷ Blok, *ut supra*, IV., p. 36. A. de I., 54-2-10, Cristobal de Aranda to the crown, Havana, January 5, 1626, 54-1-17, *id.* to *id.*, January 28, 1626.

⁴⁸ A. de I., 54-1-17, Dr. Velazquez to the crown, February 28, 1626. Florida later complained that the "relief" Havana furnished Porto Rico was afforded at her expense, in that the things sent had been intended for that northern colony. Mexico responded properly (as usual).

⁴⁹ A. de I., 54-1-17, Cristobal de Aranda to the crown, March 28, 1626; 54-2 10. Dr. Velazquez to the crown, March 30, 1626.

⁵⁰ A. de I., 54-1-17, Cristobal de Aranda to the crown, March 28, 1626.

⁵¹ A. de I., 147-5-19, Cristobal de Aranda to the crown, April 3, 1626.

⁵² A. de I., 54-1-17, an *informacion*.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

Here their commander died, on July 2.⁵⁴ His admiral, a Fleming, succeeded. But the crews and soldiers of the squadron were already in a stage of dissatisfaction bordering upon mutiny even before their superior officer's death; though arms, munitions, and artillery were still plentiful aboardship, food was scarce and the time for which the men had signed on, was up. They had been held in check only by prospect of capturing the Mexican fleet: their commander had been determined not to return with as little as had been accomplished prior to his arrival off Havana—for Porto Rico and La Margarita taken, Cumana, Araya, Jamaica, Caracas, and Grand Cayman visited, had yielded no considerable profit, nor had the six frigates captured off Cuba.

The Flemish general who succeeded to command studied Havana through his glasses, and showed a Spanish prisoner his maps of that place, and others, upon which the very streets were named. He admitted that it looked strong ("*mucho fuerte*") as against attack from sea; but he quarreled with the Spaniard for denying that he could take it by land. He did not, however, attempt the feat at this juncture. Instead, he moved on, to Matanzas.

On receipt of news that the enemy had appeared at Cabañas, the *alcaide* of Morro castle (Aranda), started soldiers in that direction, under Lucas Maldonado; hearing that the Dutch had not remained in that western port, Maldonado and thirty men hurried to Matanzas, to defend that watering place. In a skirmish with the enemy the Spaniards captured a few prisoners, and may have prevented the Dutch from taking on water enough.

On July 11, 1626, the enemy set ashore fifty-two prisoners, whom they evidently did not desire to carry across the Atlantic and burned certain vessels they had, which presumably they did not consider fit for the crossing. They thereupon took their departure. Even from their own point of view, they had accom-

⁵⁴ The Spanish versions of his name, in the documents at Seville, are "Bo-doyñ", "Boydoyno Enrico", "Vaude Vin Enrique", "Pedro Petre Enriquez". He died of a fever which followed a cold caught in the rain at Cabañas, where he was first ashore.

plished nothing. Prisoners said that they had lost heavily—perhaps fifty per cent of their men—and they were sailing home poor, and on short rations of bread and soup. But they had harassed Havana by a “siege” of thirty-two days.⁵⁵

Within a month after the Dutch had gone, the treasure galleons of the guard came into Havana with the Tierra Firme fleet. It would seem that the enemy had purposely avoided any encounter with these warships. Indeed, neither the Dutch the English, nor the French had any real desire to meet any Spanish armada. Their avoidance of any such engagement was attributed to cowardice; whereas, in fact, it was based on good business sense. Profit, not glory, was what the Dutch sought in Indies. It is the object of most offensive warfare, such as they were waging against the Spaniards in the New World. The galleons of the guard were too expensive to attack, unless scattered or in distress. The fleets, especially the comparatively unprotected Mexican fleet, were a different matter.⁵⁶

In the spring of 1627, at the entrance to the channel, General Thomas Larraspuru sighted thirteen Dutch sail, which fled from his Armada; only by what the Spaniards considered a Godsent miscalculation did they fail to fall upon either or both of the two Mexican fleets, one sailing for Vera Cruz and the other leaving that port, at about this time.⁵⁷ The governor at Havana⁵⁸ feared lest the Dutch squadron which had shown Larraspuru its heels wait in some capacious comfortable port until he should depart, to commence, in the summer “some undertaking with which to offset the many misfortunes which had befallen the enemy and the thin picking he had found”.⁵⁹

Instead, in July, 1627, the divine protection, to which the escape of the Mexican fleets was ascribed, being for the moment

⁵⁵ The source for this account of the matter is the *informacion* cited, A. de I., 54-1-17. See also 54-1-17, Aranda to the crown, Sept. 6, 1626.

⁵⁶ It is to be observed that Spanish galleons when engaged in transporting treasure, or convoying fleets, had just as little appetite for fight. Not cowardice, but policy, was at the bottom of the conduct of both parties.

⁵⁷ A. de I., 54-1-17, Cabrera to the crown, April 19, 1627.

⁵⁸ The governor was now don Lorenzo de Cabrera y Corbera.

⁵⁹ A. de I., 54-1-17, Cabrera to the crown, April 19, 1627.

somewhat withdrawn, the Dutch attacked the two galleons which were, as usual, escorting a few merchantmen up from Honduras. This little fleet had long feared some such catastrophe. In response for an appeal for help to strengthen it, the governor at Havana had just reinforced it with a hundred musketeers from the garrison there, with munitions and ten pieces of ordnance (one piece bearing the august name of Charles V.) despite all which the Dutch on July 8, 1627, took the *almiranta* and the treasure it carried. It cost a fight, which occurred off Coximar. The Spaniards came near to losing the *capitana* as well: certainly that galleon too was hard-pressed and went aground.⁶⁰

Now, the year 1627 had been profitable for the Dutch: fifty-five vessels, large and small, had been captured, "and in the next year three great squadrons steered for the west."⁶¹

Havana was warned⁶² that the enemy had designs, perhaps on Pernambuco, perhaps on Bahia, but, failing these objects, might attack Santo Domingo or Porto Rico. In August of 1628⁶³ a Dutch fleet, of twenty-three ships, was off the Havana coast.

⁶⁰ A. de I., 54-2-11; 141-1-12; 147-5-19; 54-2-10, Aranda to the crown, August 12, 1627. Picturesque details of this fight have been preserved. Governor Cabrera had sent infantry overland to relief of the Honduras ships. One of these infantrymen, named Francisco Isidro, saved the *capitana's* flag: he stabbed a Dutchman, who had just killed the Spanish color-bearer, wrapped the flag about his body, leaped overboard and swam ashore. Alvaro de la Cerda, *cabo* (in command) of the Honduras vessels, must have deserted his post, for Isidro pushed him to land on a piece of wreckage. He afterwards swam back to the *capitana* and brought shore three sailor friends of his who could not swim. Governor Cabrera, who, with other officials and soldiers, watched the struggle from the land, praised Isidro for his bravery, and he was given the flag he had saved as a trophy. The Dutch did not succeed in capturing the *capitana*; on July 12, battered and blood-stained, it limped into port. The enemy were six days off Coximar. The authorities in Havana quarreled hotly over the question whether or not to despatch a punitive expedition against them. The noes had it.

⁶¹ Blok, *ut supra*, IV., p. 36.

⁶² A. de I., 141-1-12, council to the crown, January 9, 1628; 54-1-17, Fonseca Betancur to Cabrera, Puerto Principe, January 26, 1628; 78-2-3, VIII., p. 121 r. *cedula*, June 20, 1628.

⁶³ A. de I., 147-5-19.

It was commanded by Piet Heyn himself. Many of the fifteen warnings sent from Havana to the fleet, then due from Mexico, must have been intercepted by the enemy, since none of them reached their destination, and, therefore, in the dawn of September 8 this fleet sailed tranquilly into the midst of the enemy squadron, as it lay off Matanzas.⁶⁴

The Dutch easily took nine vessels. The *capitana* and the *almiranta* made the shelter of Matanzas bay that night, followed by two fat merchantmen, preparing, they later said, to fight. When Benavides, commanding this Mexican fleet, presently took evidence to defend his judgment in so entering Matanzas harbor, one witness declared that Spanish prisoners watching events from aboard the enemy flagship, felt that his course was inspired by the Holy Ghost! Nevertheless, some of these fleeing vessels went on the shoals in that harbor and their passengers being ordered ashore, obeyed with alacrity. The intention was to burn the ships and what part of their cargo could not be landed, but, in the clear light of an unkind moon, the enemy followed fast into the bay, firing as he came. The Dutch swarmed aboard the Spanish ships from small boats. Their appearance seems to have created a panic, for certainly the Spaniards hastily deserted the king's treasure⁶⁵ and all the merchandise—departing in great disorder—and Piet Heyn found himself in possession of the four best vessels (and two shallops) which had constituted the strength and the wealth of the Mexican fleet. The thousand ducats which the king of Spain next month ordered⁶⁶ spent in masses and charity, for the safety of the fleets and armadas, were spent in vain.

In capturing that fleet Piet Heyn had done what no seaman before him—not the boldest of them—had ever succeeded in doing.

Fabulous indeed were the captured treasures of silver, gold, pearls, indigo, sugar, Campeachy wood, and costly furs, which sold in the

⁶⁴ A. de I., 147-5-19; 54-1-17.

⁶⁵ The fleet had not yet reached Havana, to discharge any cargo.

⁶⁶ A. de I., 141-1-12, council to crown, October 25, 1528.

Netherlands for no less than fifteen million guilders. The rejoicing over the news (there) was boundless, and Heyn himself showed some vexation at the excessive praises bestowed upon him for this easy victory, after his previous and more important exploits had been greeted with much less enthusiasm.⁶⁷

The capture of the Mexican fleet is, indeed, what keeps his name alive to posterity.⁶⁸

On September 18 or 19, Heyn disembogued.⁶⁹ Nothing in all its history had so angered Cuba as his capture of the Mexican fleet. "Who," later cried⁷⁰ one especially wrathful gentleman named Pedro Gutierrez Ortiz, voicing as great and lasting indignation in Spain,

who can hear of this and not seize high heaven itself in angry hands? Who, at the risk of a thousand lives, if he had them, would not avenge so grievous an affront? . . . The Hollander has so degraded us that commonly, in adjacent kingdoms, where formerly they called the Spaniards unchained lions, they now call us embroidered Marias with braided hair and padded legs!

⁶⁷ Blok, *ut supra*, IV., p. 37.

⁶⁸ The school children of Holland, to a gay melody, still sing: "Piet Hein's name his small, but his deeds are great—he has captured the silver-fleet!" No song records his capture of Bahia, although on his statue in Delft harbor it is written: "Gold before silver but honor before all", which was his motto. Two despatch boats conveyed to Holland news of his adventures at Matanzas and even before he arrived home the story of his great haul was in circulation in print and picture. While the writer was engaged upon this paper there was at Seville, occupied in investigation among papers referring to the Dutch, F. E. Baron Mulert, a special admirer of Piet Hein, who possesses an engraving of the time, depicting the capture of the Mexican ships in Matanzas bay. It is stated on the picture that the Dutch got thirty-six tons of silver.

⁶⁹ A. de I., 54-1-17, an incomplete letter from Cabrera to the crown, Havana, September 30, 1628.

⁷⁰ A. de I., 141-1-7, Pedro Gutierrez Ortiz to the crown, June 23, 1637. To enable Spaniards to recover lost repute, Pedro Gutierrez advocated an armada—an immense armada. He advised that all enemies captured be executed forthwith, in order "so to terrorize the world that, where it once stood, the name of Spain may stand again!"

II

INCIDENTAL EFFECTS OF DUTCH COLONIZATION IN BRAZIL

(To 1640)

As a matter of fact, Piet Heyn's capture of the Mexican fleet was a happy accident. Fortune never again so beamed upon Dutch adventures against Spanish West Indian traffic. Since success prefers to crown determined efforts specially directed to single definite objectives, it may be that the enemy's failure to repeat Piet Heyn's exploit was due to the fact that Dutch attacks on Spanish commerce became merely incidental, minor features of larger affairs in South America, on which the ambition of the Netherlands settled. Dutch squadrons which troubled Cuba in the decade ending with 1640, cleared from home for Brazil, for possession of which the Dutch were contending with the Portuguese; having done their business there, they returned via the Caribbean, in hopes to happen by the way upon Spanish ships under circumstances which would enable them to make the expenses of their expeditions, which were primarily directed, however, to Brazil. When, as part of the truce entered into between the Netherlands and Portugal in 1641, hostilities abated in Brazil, and such expeditions were no longer necessary there, it was not found good business to despatch them especially against Spanish traffic in the Caribbean, particularly since peace with Spain again appeared possible and desirable upon the horizon of the United Netherlands. The period of Dutch influence upon Cuba's affairs dwindled away, but not before fear of the Dutch had erected fortifications at Havana,⁷¹ just as, previously, fear of the French and fear of the English had done.

Their adventures in Indies, around about 1628, heartened the Dutch, and, in corresponding degree, disheartened the Spanish, who found themselves paralyzed by lack of money. Try as he

⁷¹ And at Santiago de Cuba. The effect of Cornelis Corneliszoon Jol's visitation to Santiago on March 15, 1635, has been indicated in the author's *Santiago de Cuba and its District* (Madrid, 1918), and the matter is therefore omitted from this paper.

would, his most Catholic majesty simply could not "raise the wind", which Piet Heyn had taken out of his sails at Matanzas!

The governor at Havana was demanding reinforcement "for the love of God": he wanted two hundred men, and firearms, powder, fuse and lead in proportion.⁷² He declared that more than seventy of his garrison of four hundred were useless. Remarking that as long as the Dutch found war profitable to them and costly to Spain, the king must reckon the Indies as his frontier, don Antonio Oquendo estimated Havana's effective force at about two hundred and fifty men, whereas it should be a thousand, and recommended the despatch thither of two or three hundred infantry, well equipped.⁷³ Governor Cabrera asked an appropriation for the pay of additional men, and urged that Havana's *situado* for that year, which the Dutch had taken with the Mexican fleet that conveyed it, be made good from crown revenues passing in the armada, "for otherwise it will not be possible to maintain the garrison".⁷⁴ His letter found the authorities in Spain in receipt of news from the north which inclined them to believe the governor's apprehensions justified.

The king was informed that the West India Company's projects were four in number, three of them concerning ports wherein the Spanish were established, and the fourth contemplating the seizure of some comparatively unoccupied place, perhaps Jamaica.⁷⁵ Certainly it was their intention to obtain a permanent foothold in the Caribbean from which to make continuous warfare upon Spain's colonial traffic.⁷⁶ The company was said to be equipping great armadas, one of which, described as the finest that had been raised in the United Provinces, was to attack the treasure galleons as they left Havana. That port itself⁷⁷ was to be taken—its castles were to

⁷² A. de I., 54-1-17, Cabrera to the crown, Sept. 30, 1628.

⁷³ A. de I., 147-5-8, Oquendo to the crown, Lisbon, Oct. 11, 1630.

⁷⁴ A. de I., 147-5-19, *Junta de guerra* to the crown, January, 1629; 78-2-3, VIII., pp. 133, 134 r., *cedulas*, January 22, 1629.

⁷⁵ A. de I., 147-5-8, *Junta de guerra* to the crown, December 26, 1629. Such were the company's plans, according to the Infanta Isabel's informant.

⁷⁶ A. de I., 147-5-8, March 20, 1629: according to warnings received from Cardinal de Cueva.

⁷⁷ A. de I., 147-5-8, the king to the grand chancellor for Indies, March 31, 1629.

be "besieged by hunger"—or now the Dutch would indeed occupy the harbor of Matanzas. Dutch ships were said to be clearing from their ports one by one as though to meet at a rendezvous: Tenerife counted more than fifty sail as they went by.⁷⁸ And the French, encouraged by all this, were reported to be arming eight ships for Indies!⁷⁹

The council for war in Indies would have sent don Antonio Oquendo out with an armada.⁸⁰ The council for Indies approved of the idea but declared that it must not be looked to for the money: it was bankrupt. It was the king who cried his council courage: "Now is no time to yield", he wrote late in 1630. "If the Indies are well cared for this coming year, it will compensate for all the damage done and bring our enemies to sue for peace."⁸¹

On January 11, 1629, Cabrera was ordered⁸² to lay in supplies of food and water, to call on Mexico for provisions if necessary, and, because it was understood that the Dutch might attack from the Chorrera, to permit no timber whatsoever to be cut in that vicinity. The council for war recommended⁸³ that General Larraspuru be instructed to leave in Havana, from crown revenues aboard the galleons, the equivalent of the lost *situado*, and the crown so decreed. The council further recommended that men, and the arms and munitions which the governor wanted, be sent to him at once. The crown, agreeing, ordered⁸⁴ the Marques de Leganes, captain general of artillery, to furnish two hundred muskets, two hundred arquebuses, two hundred hundred-weight of powder and one of fuse, for Havana. The Duke de Medina Sidonia was ordered to recruit two hundred men.

It was here (1629) that difficulties of a financial order arose, irritatingly. It was usual to bring over a good sum of money

⁷⁸ A. de I., 147-5-8, *id.* to *id.*, May 9, 1629.

⁷⁹ A. de I., 147-5-8, royal order, June 10, 1630; February 7, 1631.

⁸⁰ A. de I., 147-5-8, April 24, 1630.

⁸¹ A. de I., 141-1-13, November 30, 1630.

⁸² A. de I., 78-2-3, VIII., p. 132 r., *cedula*, January 11, 1629.

⁸³ A. de I., 147-5-19, *Junta de guerra* to the crown, January 12, 1629.

⁸⁴ *Ibid* and A. de I., 147-5-19, *Junta de guerra* to the crown, January 26, 1629.

annually from Mexico to pay for arms and munitions for Indies: Piet Heyn had carried that year's money off to Holland with other spoils of the Mexican fleet. Therefore the captain general of artillery asked⁸⁵ the council for war to furnish seven thousand two hundred ducats to cover the cost of the muskets, arquebuses, powder, and lead for Havana. The council recommended⁸⁶ that the shipment be sent forward on credit, since the need was imperative and delay dangerous. The captain general of artillery, who had not a musket on hand to deliver, insisted⁸⁷ that since he had to deal with northern factories who transacted business on spot cash basis, he must have cash, or nothing could be done. In March, 1629, the council threw up its hands.⁸⁸ Governor Cabrera, who, in January, had been assured⁸⁹ that the armada was bringing him arms and munitions, was told in April⁹⁰ to send eight thousand six hundred ducats in "double silver" to pay for these means for Havana's defense—otherwise, they could not be provided.

The House of Trade, which was making ready a vessel to convey these supplies, and soldiers, to Havana, sent in an itemized bill showing nineteen thousand seven hundred and eighty seven ducats needed for the purpose.⁹¹

And the Duke de Medina Sidonia met with mutiny and desertion when he attempted to raise men for Cuba: they did not believe that they were being recruited for Indies.⁹²

The council for war in Indies urged⁹³ that the duke be advised that the two hundred men must be found—perhaps among those recruited for service aboard galleons of the guard, and that the House find money to clear the ship for Cuba regardless of previous warrants against artillery funds, because

⁸⁵ A. de I., 147-5-19, *Junta de guerra* to the crown, January 26, 1629.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ A. de I., 147-5-19, *Junta de guerra* to the crown, March 5, 1629.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ A. de I., 54-1-35, Castañeda and Armeñiteros to the crown, Oct. 7, 1629.

⁹⁰ A. de I., 78-2-3, VIII., pp. 137 r., 144, *cedulas*, April 27, 1629.

⁹¹ A. de I., 147-5-19, *Junta de guerra* to the crown, April 26, 1629.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

according to advices concerning the enemies' designs on the Indies, confirmed every day from various quarters, the relief of Havana is to-day one of your majesty's most imperative obligations, inasmuch as in holding this place we may remedy other damage if, because of our sins, God permit it to occur—damage which without Havana would be almost beyond your majesty's power to repair; and although Havana is strong and well defended even by its very situation, precisely for that reason if the enemy attempts to invade, it will be with great force by land and by sea, and cutting off all means of relief,

wherefore the council urged the king to take every possible measure to prevent a loss which would be so very difficult to retrieve.

Despite all this alarm, lack of funds continued to check action. The special vessel direct to Cuba could not be cleared, nor the two hundred men recruited. What arms and munitions were sent went with an armada under don Fadrique de Toledo. Since January (1629) the crown had been trying to get this armada off—"to punish the enemy and protect the mainland galleons and the Mexican fleets"—and it cleared, finally, in the following summer.⁹⁴

As stated, Cabrera had been warned in January; at the end of May still another despatch was sent to him,⁹⁵ advising that late news from Flanders confirmed previous reports: that the Dutch meant to besiege Havana, that vessels enough to constitute a powerful armada were slipping out of enemy harbors one by one, wherefore he would do well to prepare for attack from Matanzas, or from the Chorrera where, the king understood, the way had been opened by the clearing of the land for sugarcane fields.

Meanwhile, from June until mid-September of that year of 1629, enemy vessels patrolled the Cuban north coast; the port of Havana was as good as closed. On August 22 "Perin Pettre" (Pater) stood off the city, with an armada said to consist of thirty sail, though only fourteen were seen.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ A. de I., 141-1-12.

⁹⁵ A. de I., 78-2-3, VIII., p. 149, *cedula*, May 28, 1629.

⁹⁶ A. de I., 54-1-35, Castañeda and Armenteros to the crown, October 7, 1629; 54-2-11, Matheo Varona to the crown, Havana, November 3, 1629; 54-1-17, Fonseca Betancur, Bayamo, November 15, 1629.

Cabrera had summoned the militia from the interior: men arrived the first week in June. On one occasion a hundred were rushed in great haste to the Chorrera; they arrived there hot, a giant of a sergeant among them waded into the sea to cool off, and died very soon after the bath, but there were no further casualties.⁹⁷

It was at this time that Cabrera threw up a trench from Punta to the old gun foundry (the *Maestranza*) despite objections, voiced by Pedro de Armenteros y Guzman, for instance, who thought that no enemy would attempt to land there, under the batteries of three forts, and that to man this trench left the inlet, Punta Brava and the Chorrera weakened. The work was done, however, and a redoubt built in which ordnance was placed. It was paid for out of the tax levied to raise funds for the *armada de barlovento*. To erect certain houses considered necessary, the citizens contributed.⁹⁸

Meanwhile, the Mexican fleet for 1629 and the ships from Honduras came safe into Havana, and decided to lie there. That they were safe was glad news to Seville. The king ordered thanks given to "Our Lord for extending favor to us, and also for protecting us from harm".⁹⁹ Don Fadrique de Toledo with his armada and the mainland fleet arrived in Havana on March 15, 1630. He had encountered only rumors of enemies about: after he had left that vicinity he heard that they had burned Santa Marta. He sent three galleons and a shallop out to strengthen still another Mexican fleet which he expected to find in Havana, waiting for him. It came in on April 3 and Don Fadrique presently got off to Spain with a very large and correspondingly valuable lot of shipping in his convoy.¹⁰⁰ Cabrera expressed¹⁰¹ "a million thanks" for the arms and munitions

⁹⁷ A. de I., 54-1-35, Castañeda and Armenteros to the crown, October 7, 1629; 54-1-35, Pedro de Armenteros y Guzman to the crown, Oct. 7, 1629; and documents in 54-2-11.

⁹⁸ A. de I., 54-1-35, Pedro de Armenteros y Guzman to the crown, Oct. 7, 1629.

⁹⁹ A. de I., 147-5-19, council to crown, Dec. 3, 1629; 141-1-12, January 24, 1630, council to crown; 139-6-23, III., p. 112, *cedula*, February 3, 1630.

¹⁰⁰ A. de I., 141-1-12, don Fadrique de Toledo to the crown, Havana, April 3, 1630.

¹⁰¹ A. de I., 54-1-17, Cabrera to the crown, Havana, April 26, 1630.

Don Fadrique had brought him: he hoped to persuade him to leave also some men and artillery. The governor believed that now he could put Havana into shape to defend itself, "with the help of God".

Apparently considerable such assistance was going to be necessary, for the Dutch had not departed from the neighborhood. In mid-May of 1630, when Don Fadrique and his fighting ships must have been still in Havana harbor, a despatch boat from Mexico was intercepted by enemies so close to Havana that what papers it carried were brought overland from Cabañas. Its news was that an enemy squadron of eighty sail was to be expected.¹⁰² In the following August General Larraspuru¹⁰³ at Cartagena with the treasure galleons of that year, heard that these eighty sail were lying in wait for him: twenty-two were said to be off Havana then. He commended his voyage to "the Blessed Souls", and in the king's name promised them a thousand ducats for safety. He had 6,887,800 *pesos* worth of cargo in his keeping, of which 5,851,850 were specie and bullion.¹⁰⁴ If the enemy continued to hang off Cuba he purposed abandoning the regular route home, avoiding San Anton by sailing east between Cuba and La Española, and although it would appear that the at least two dozen enemy sail which had been off Havana, disembogued in September of 1630, Larraspuru appears to have considered it safer so to alter his course.¹⁰⁵ His doing so, and the failure of the Mexican fleet to pass through on schedule, left Havana without the usual means of exporting its products that year.

On March 10, 1631, the governor¹⁰⁶ at Havana was informed¹⁰⁷ that eight enemy hulks had been seen off Cape Corrientes. He sent forth warnings, and urged Mexico to hurry along the six hundred hundred-weight of biscuit he had already sent for,

¹⁰² A. de I., 147-5-20.

¹⁰³ A. de I., 141-1-12, Thomas Larraspuru to the crown, Cartagena, August, 1630.

¹⁰⁴ Cheap insurance, as rates have been running.

¹⁰⁵ A. de I., 54-1-17, Bitrian to the crown, January 21, 1631.

¹⁰⁶ The governor was now Admiral Don Juan Bitrian de Biamonte y Navarra.

¹⁰⁷ A. de I., 54-1-17, Bitrian to the crown, June 29, 1631.

as the crown had bidden him do, if he fell short, and, for good measure, he now asked for an additional thousand hundred-weight. On April 17 (it was Holy Thursday) the eight vessels of which he had heard appeared off Havana. They hung about for a month, and then shifted to Matanzas. The governor sent a hundred soldiers to that port under Captain Don Gonzalo Chacon de Narvaez. The enemy set thirty-seven prisoners ashore and departed. These persons said that the enemy squadron was twenty-six sail, though Havana had seen only eight, carrying eight hundred men of whose courage the Spaniards who had been among them thought very little indeed. They had plenty of ammunition but were short of food. On May 20, they reappeared off Havana and lingered until June 4. Despite their presence, twenty-six ships made the port safely, including those bringing one thousand six hundred hundred-weight of biscuit from Mexico. Nevertheless, the governor felt real alarm when still other Spaniards who had been prisoners of the enemy arrived at the end of that month, to repeat assurance that eighty enemy sail were to be expected!¹⁰⁸

Happily for his peace of mind, General Thomas Larraspuru with an armada came into port on August 24, 1631. He had not seen or heard of any but insignificant enemies. Having taken on water this armada went out again, to San Anton, to await the Mexican fleet, which had orders not to leave Vera Cruz until advised that the enemy had disembogued and a Spanish squadron stood ready to meet it at San Anton. Larraspuru was obliged to return to port to pass the equinox but again fared forth on October 2. The Mexican fleet did not come up until early December, and a storm knocked it to pieces. The Tierra Firme fleet arrived on December 12, and on February 24, 1632, Larraspuru left for Spain convoying fifty-eight sail (ten of which were to drop away to Indies ports on emerging from the channel). He was escorting over 8,211,683 *pesos* in cargo, of which 1,395,303 were the king's, in bullion and coin.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ A. de I., 54-1-17, Bitrian to the crown, June 30, 1631.

¹⁰⁹ A. de I., 141-1-13, August-December, 1631.

An armada under the Marques de Cadereyta made Havana on September 30, 1633. He had just cleaned the enemy out of San Martin. Vessels of a small squadron coming to reinforce him met Dutchmen off San Anton in August, and Miguel Redin, admiral commanding them died in the fight (or soon after, of wounds) "in a manner becoming a gentlemen and his blood". This squadron, minus the admiral's ship, made Havana between September 7 and 9. It was reported that the enemy had sacked Campeche, and perhaps Truxillo. Governor Bitrian plumed himself that they kept away from Cuba because it was known that he was ready to receive them there becomingly.¹¹⁰

Early in 1638 the council for Indies was informed that "Peg-Leg the Pirate" had cleared for the West Indies—he was "Corniel Cornieles de Jol", according to the Spaniards' reading of his signature (Cornelis Corneliszoon Jol). Don Carlos de Ybarra was warned¹¹¹ that he had left for Indies with ten ships, to join fourteen others pirating there; it was understood that Peg-Leg's intention was to convey certain relief to Pernambuco, where the Dutch were in sharp contest with the Portuguese for possession of Brazil, and then to come up to the Caribbean to encounter Ybarra's armada. The Spaniard was ordered to avoid the encounter, if possible; but if this were not possible, then to "punish" Jol. Timely receipt of a warning held the Mexican fleet at Vera Cruz, with 2,519,401 *pesos* aboard, of which 1,822,772 were the crown's, but the armada—the priceless galleons—in August, off the west end of Cuba, fell in with Peg-Leg who was lying in wait, for them or for the fleet, with eleven ships of his own, reinforced by half a dozen hangers-on—little birds of prey who scented possibilities of spoil. The armada, in obedience to Ybarra's orders, beat hasty retreat toward Mexico. The galleon *Carmen*, commanded by Sanchez de Urdanivia, fought a rear-guard action which, described by Urdanivia himself, stands forth among the more prosaic documents of the Archives of the Indies like a highly colored painting of a vigorous sea

¹¹⁰ A. de I., 54-1-17, Bitrian to the crown, October 13, 1633; 147-5-20

¹¹¹ A. de I., 141-4-8.

fight, touched by a ray of sunlight falling into a darkened picture gallery!¹¹²

The enemy's *capitana* bore down upon Ybarra's, while the enemy's *almiranta* picked up the Spanish *almiranta* as her antagonist, and they interchanged broadsides and sweeping musketry fire. In advancing to this attack, the enemy *almiranta* passed close enough to the *Carmen* to enable Urdanivia to "offend" it with all his artillery and musketry. The enemy answered in kind. The *Carmen* then swung in, and prevented three supporting vessels which followed from joining in the attack upon the Spanish *almiranta*. Two hours Urdanivia fought these three vessels, at close quarters—so close that his rigging became entangled with theirs.

The enemy now withdrew but only to choose an admiral to replace one they had lost in the combat (so prisoners taken said later), and to replace certain captains whose valor was not equal to the test of existing circumstances. The Dutch were lost to view for two days, but on the third resumed the attack with thirteen ships.

The enemy *capitana* renewed its duel with the Spanish, but soon dropped away, bested in the encounter. The *Regla*, the *Sanctiago* and the *Carmen* were the rear of the Spanish squadron and on them now fell the brunt of the Dutchmen's determination to get some profit out of this meeting, so that presently, according to its commander, the *Carmen* found itself engaging twelve enemy ships, alone, unaided by any other Spanish vessel, despite the fact that it was broad daylight and the roar of its guns and the rattle of its musketry were waking the echoes through the Organo mountains on the shore. Only when the *Carmen*, with masts broken and rigging down, seemed about to yield to the force of superior numbers, did the rest of the armada turn back, with evident intention to bring relief. Thereupon the Dutch withdrew.

¹¹² A. de I., 147-5-22; 141-1-16, two letters written by Sancho de Urdanivia, November 15 and 16, 1638, and the council's communication, dated January 14, 1639, referring these letters to the crown.

Inspection showed the *Carmen* to be beyond hope of saving. What plate it carried was transferred to another vessel, and with twenty dead and twenty-eight wounded aboard, it limped into Bahia Honda bay (three leagues away), where its artillery, munitions, copper and indigo were landed, and the wreck that was left of the ship itself, burned.

Its commander was blamed for the concentrated attack upon the *Carmen*. He resented this criticism bitterly; he said that he was the rear guard—a rear guard was necessary, given the plan of battle determined upon previous to the event—and no galleon disputed the place with his vessel nor sought to share its dangers. If to break out standards and pennants without orders to do so were an error, it was news to him that a commander needed specific instructions to permit him to make his ship “as ferocious and bizarre as his equipment allowed”.

And if, as my general seems to think, the adornments of war and a disposition to fight were an invitation to the enemy to seek me out and attack me with especial earnestness—if in so dressing my galleon I erred against your majesty’s best interests, a greater display and a greater fault would it have been to garland it with hencoops and litter its bridge and decks with corrals for live stock, as does sometimes happen upon this Indian route!

Ask Holland, he exclaimed, how the armada conducted itself that day, and how the galleon with the standards spread, bore it itself among the rest! The enemy had eyed that beflagged galleon close and long enough to report upon it accurately!

Peg-Leg set his prisoners ashore at Bahia Honda and left for home. He, or his hangers-on, may have taken some of the smaller craft which were travelling in the armada’s company, but he captured no galleons, nor any treasure of any account; and the fight had cost him dear. Nevertheless, he was back in two years, but fortune had indeed deserted the Dutch.

On September 4, 1640, thirty-six sails appeared off the Havana coast. The city had been warned and was in good shape to

resist any attack, for the governor ¹¹³ had drilled the citizens, reinforced Coximar and the Chorrera, hurried provisions into Morro and anchored fire-boats at the entrance to the bay.¹¹⁴

On September 11 a violent storm scattered the enemy right and left.¹¹⁵ The first news Havana had of this disaster arrived on the 14th to the effect that a hundred-ton shallop was ashore three leagues from town. It was not a valuable prize, for its cargo was pitch and thatch. Next day came news of a four hundred ton hulk ashore still farther west; its thirty-two guns (a dozen bronze) and a hundred prisoners, fell into the hands of the party which Governor de Luna sent out after them. Farther on was wrecked still another hulk, which to the Spaniards' spoils added nineteen guns (six bronze), but only twenty-two men of the hundred and thirty who had been abroad. The crew of still another, ashore at Herradura, was reported to be marching toward Havana, in a company numbering about a hundred and eleven men, a dozen or so having remained behind with what was left of their ship, said to have carried twenty-two guns (six bronze).

The governor sent out infantry to gather in these prisoners, and the artillery; and to burn the wrecks. The Spaniards regretted to have to burn the ship ashore at Herradura, for it was new and undamaged, but they were compelled to do so lest the enemy recover it, as they had already recovered two of its guns.

When the reckoning was taken, the Spaniards found themselves the richer by a windfall of seventy-two pieces of artillery a good proportion of which were bronze, to say nothing of cables, masts, sails, fifteen pounds of powder, a hundred muskets, and

¹¹³ The governor was now Don Alvaro de Luna Sarmiento, who took possession of his office on September 15, 1639. He considered that the greatest menace to the colony's welfare was the enemy who infested the coasts: the lessee of the customs dues had collected only 5,000 *pesos* during immediately preceding years, whereas these collections had formerly been 18,000 per annum. Coastwise trade traveled in canoes, not even these vessels being safe. The pirates actually troubled business done ashore, for they had penetrated two and three leagues inland to plunder and burn.

¹¹⁴ A. de I., 54-1-17, Luna Sarmiento to the crown, September 15, 1639.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, and 54-2-11, Riaño to the crown, September 17, 1639.

over two hundred prisoners, whom the governor purposed sending at once to Spain along with certain other objectionable foreigners whom he had rounded up from all over the island.

Peg-Leg, for it was indeed he, coming up from Brazil as Cuba had been warned that he would, on September 20 or 21 sent a small boat under a white flag toward the port of Havana, to which the Spaniards sent out another like it, which brought in a letter in which Peg-Leg proposed an exchange of prisoners. He admitted that Governor de Luna had a larger number of his men than he of Spaniards, but still he had forty or fifty on hand—Franciscan priests, soldiers, civilians—and could, moreover, catch as many more as he chose, along those coasts. He promised to extend to the Spanish prisoners the same treatment the Spaniards meted out to the Dutch.

Governor de Luna replied courteously, condoling with Jol on the catastrophe which had befallen him, saying that his sympathy had moved him to hasten food to the wrecks, and men to bring the prisoners into Havana where, he said, they were comfortable and well treated. The governor said that he knew what in humanity was due to an enemy who has surrendered, and therefore he expected similar good treatment to be extended to the Spaniards in Jol's hands. He said that he would like to make the exchange suggested, but lacking orders to that effect he must now send his prisoners to Spain. This quaint letter ends with expression of Governor de Luna's hope that Jol may meet the Spanish armada well supplied with everything necessary that its victory over him may be the more brilliant, and terminates with the stereotyped form of conclusion: "May God guard you as I desire"!¹¹⁶

Peg-Leg moved on to Matanzas, where he did what damage he could. There he released certain of his prisoners (among them the Franciscan priests, from Florida). They reported that Jol's loss was six good men-o'-war and a shallop. Although he was said to have intended to go on to Santiago, where he was assured he could seize twenty thousand *arrobas* of sugar, Peg-

¹¹⁶ A. de I., 54-1-17, Luna Sarmiento to the crown, September 17, 1639.

Leg disemboved with twenty-four sail on October 17th, 1640. and with him vanished all real danger to Cuba from the Dutch.

The governor sent Don Pedro Salgado de Barros to Spain with news of the destruction of Peg-leg's squadron on the Cuban coast. This messenger inadvertently put into a Portuguese port—and to his chagrin learned that the Duke of Braganza as John IV. was in revolt against the king of Spain. The curtain had gone up upon another phase of Cuba's checkered history.¹¹⁷

The period which had passed left permanent monuments behind, for Havana and her governor had had (1633) an active procurator at court, named Simon Fernandez Leyton,¹¹⁸ who brought before the crown many matters in which Cuba was interested. As his principal mission he represented that it was necessary to open loopholes in Morro's landward walls, to repair the barracks, build drawbridges, etc., there; that it was necessary to repair La Fuerza; and that it was necessary to build a tower at the Chorrera and another at Coximar, each to accomodate four guns.¹¹⁹ His representations, together with former Governor Cabrera's opinion thereon, were seen in the council for war in Indies, in February, 1633, and the council recommended¹²⁰ that the captain general of the next armada to sail that way be instructed to make an inspection along with the governor and royal officials of Havana, and report upon the work Havana wanted done. The council thought that pending the crown's action on this report what repairs those so inspecting considered "most necessary and inexcusable", might be made, Mexico to provide the money. The crown agreed to most of these recommendations, for under date of April 11, 1633, the Marqués

¹¹⁷ A. de I., 147-5-23, January 25, 1641. Further references to the Dutch around about Cuba exist, for instance: A. de I., 55-1-38, 54-2-11, Riaño to the crown, September 17, 1639; 147-5-23, January 1641; 141-4-9, February 7 (?), 1641; 78-2-3, XI., pp. 65, 68; 141-1-18, September 7, 1641 (?), etc., etc.

¹¹⁸ Fernandez Leyton was Portuguese by birth, a *vecino* of Havana, married to the daughter of a Spaniard; it had cost him 300 ducats "double silver" to get out naturalization papers which (November 2, 1627) entitled him to do business in Indies and in Spain.

¹¹⁹ A. de I., 55-5-24, *memorial*, Captain Simon Fernandez Leyton, February 3, 1633.

¹²⁰ A. de I., 55-5-24, May 30, 1634, a *relacion*.

de Cadereyta and Don Carlos de Ybarra, admiral of the armada, were ordered to make the inspection, along with Bitrian, the treasurer and accountant of Cuba, "and other experienced and intelligent persons". The governor was instructed accordingly, under the same date.¹²¹ He was told to "dispose the minds of the *vecinos* toward aiding with their slaves and materials", in any work it might be deemed necessary to do at once; if these local resources were not sufficient, the crown would order the balance supplied from Mexico.

On October 6, 1633, the inspection was made.¹²² Governor Bitrian, the Marqués de Cadereyta, Don Carlos de Ybarra, Captain Damian de Vega, *alcayde* of Morro, Diego Diaz Pimienta accountant (the treasurer was too ill to be present), and various other persons, including three engineers (Joseph Ydalgo, Juan Bautista Vandazo, Don Francisco de Tessa), looked Morro over and listed desirable repairs and alterations, to an estimated cost of 52,000 ducats. They inspected Fuerza and found 1750 ducats worth of work to be done. They recommended the building of towers at the Chorrera and Coximar, 20,000 ducats. Total, 73,750 ducats. Their report was duly forwarded to court. Some details in connection with it, which it was considered not desirable to entrust to writing, were to be reported verbally by the procurator. On May 30, 1634, the council for war in Indies approved this report and the matter came before his majesty. On October 19, 1634, the crown ordered¹²³ the council's recommendations carried out. This order took the shape of a *cedula*¹²⁴ dated January 30, 1635, bidding the governor¹²⁵ do "what was urgent, and build the towers" (at the Chorrera and Coximar), which, if he considered them vitally necessary to Havana's safety, were to be erected simultaneously with other work. Mexico was ordered¹²⁶ to deliver twenty thousand ducats and to furnish ten thousand yearly, to the total of 73,750 ducats which it had been estimated were required.

¹²¹ A. de I., 78-2-3, IX., pp. 39, 41 r.; 147-5-20, *cedula*, April 11, 1633.

¹²² A. de I., 147-5-20; 55-5-24, Bitrian to the crown, October 12, 1633.

¹²³ A. de I., 147-5-20, *Junta de guerra* to the crown, October 19, 1634.

¹²⁴ A. de I., 78-2-3, IX., p. 121 r., *cedula*.

¹²⁵ The governor was now Don Francisco de Riaño y Gamboa.

¹²⁶ A. de I., 78-2-3, IX., p. 126 r.; 127 r.

The governor was to use the money carefully and do only necessary work.

When the Dutch and the rebel Portuguese entered into a truce, the governor¹²⁷ feared lest, united, they fall upon Havana. He felt a revived¹²⁸ interest in the towers planned for the Chorrera and Coximar.

He inspected both sites.¹²⁹ He found himself handicapped in executing the work, ordered in 1635, because Mexico had not sent the appropriation made for it. The governor despatched an emissary¹³⁰ to Mexico for this money, who returned without it, or the munitions for which, also, he had asked. The crown repeatedly ordered¹³¹ the viceroy to remit.¹³²

In view of his delay in complying with these orders, and alarmed by news from Brazil¹³³ the governor was constrained to

¹²⁷ The governor was Don Alvaro de Luna Sarmiento.

¹²⁸ A. de I., 54-1-17, November 6, 1640, Luna Sarmiento to the crown.

¹²⁹ Riaño had reported on May 25, 1635, that, recognizing the necessity of placing the Chorrera in a position not only to defend itself, but also to offend any enemy fleet seeking to anchor there, he and General Antonio de Oquendo, accompanied by veteran soldiers and engineers, made various inspections of the vicinity, and of Coximar, and drew up plans, which Captain Juan Alférez presented at court. These resuscitated interest in the projected work, but it was the fear which Luna Sarmiento expressed, lest the Dutch and Portuguese together attack, which finally built the forts—after all danger from the enemy (the Dutch) to whom they are a monument, had disappeared. "*El socorro del español . . .*"

¹³⁰ A. de I., 54-1-17, Luna Sarmiento to the crown, September 15, 1639, and November 6, 1640; 54-1-18, *id.* to *id.*, December 28, 1641. Juan de Esquivel was the emissary.

¹³¹ A. de I., 78-2-3, XI., pp. 62½, 69 r., 81 r., 82 r., *cedulas*, December 25, 1640, August 28, 1641, June 20, 1642.

¹³² Irregularities in the Mexican fleet service, the wintering of the fleets and armada in Vera Cruz in 1639 and their failure to call at Havana in passing, had created a serious situation for Cuba. Don Alvaro found the king's strongboxes about empty. The crown reminded armada generals of previous orders to leave from whatever treasure they had aboard whatever accounts showed to be due Cuba when they called. From Don Geronimo de Sandoval, presumably in 1639, the governor got 50,000 ducats on account, and in 1641 Diaz Pimienta left 105,000 ducats (239,000 *pesos* were then due, it appears). But it must be borne in mind that Havana had local revenues at disposal.

¹³³ A. de I., 54-1-18, Luna Sarmiento to the crown, December 28, 1641; 55-5-24, August 26, 1642, *id.* to *id.* The crown's announcement of Portugal's rebellion did not reach Luna Sarmiento as it should; he got his first news of that event via Brazil, accompanied by alarming rumors that from Brazil the Dutch and Portuguese would attack Havana.

call the citizens into consultation, and to tax them, each according to his ability to pay, thus raising money, ostensibly to wall the city. To take charge of the work he summoned Juan Bautista de Antoneli¹³⁴ from Santiago de Cuba, the fortifications here being in such condition that they could well be finished in the engineer's absence. When Antoneli arrived he decided that the work to be done in Havana should begin by the erection of the two towers which the crown had approved, so long before, one at the Chorrera and one at Coximar.

The fort at the Chorrera, on a rocky islet, where the river (now called the Almendares) comes into the sea, was built eighty feet square by forty high, five guns to play from a height of twenty feet, and six more from the top. It would seem that Antoneli was guided by plans which in July, 1641, General Luis Fernandez de Cordoba laid before the crown¹³⁵ as embodying his ideas of what was wanted. The model was the style of tower which Spain had found useful against the Moors:

Two thirds solid and the other third hollow, for the lodging of some six or eight soldiers, and on top one or two small pieces, to prevent launches from entering the said inlet; and the entrance . . . as high up as the solid part goes, access by a rope ladder, for the greater safety of the whole.

For the rope ladder, at the Chorrera Antoneli substituted a draw bridge, and he built in a reservoir, storehouses, and barracks in such manner that the structure was reported to accommodate fifty men.

The fort at Coximar was similar—eighty feet square, but inasmuch as the rock upon which it stood was high, the walls were but fifteen feet to the guns on the seaward side; on the landward, they were thirty-five and there was a five foot moat.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ There were two brothers named Juan Bautista Antoneli, one of whom, commonly called Bautista Antoneli, came to Havana with Don Juan de Texeda, to build Morro and Punta castles, commencing in 1589. The Juan Bautista Antoneli here mentioned is this man's son, born out of wedlock in Cartagena but later legitimized; he was heir to his father's name, talents, bad bills against the government, and also to his title of king's military engineer. He had a son, also of the same name, who was born in Porto Rico *circa* 1634.

¹³⁵ A. de I., 54-2-12.

¹³⁶ Good descriptions of the towers are contained in the governor's and Antoneli's letters to the crown: A. de I., 55-5-24, August 26, 1642; June 1, 1643.

The crown had appropriated 20,000 ducats for these towers.¹³⁷ They cost 20,000 *pesos* each, and, Don Alvaro de Luna wrote on August 26, 1642, "they will be finished within four months without the expenditure of a *real* of your majesty's revenues" Before the end of May, 1643, the governor reported fort Santa Dorothea de Luna at the Chorrera done,¹³⁸ and eleven guns in place. The fort at Coximar seems to have been finished well toward the end of the year 1643.

Four years before royal approval¹³⁹ of this work extended in 1647, had arrived in Havana, came a *cedula* to the governor dated May 4, 1643, ordering¹⁴⁰ that, for the good of his majesty's service, any Hollanders taken prisoners be neither molested nor maltreated, but rather exchanged to avoid irritation. These were black hours for Spain: this *cedula* was issued within a few days of the defeat at Rocroy. The immediate future held the Peace of Munster. The Dutch had won their fight. Havana's new forts, like her old ones, were monuments erected to dangers that had passed.

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¹³⁷ See above, page 633.

¹³⁸ In fact, he reported one fort done before the end of 1642. A. de I., 54-1-18, Luna Sarmiento to the crown, January 5, 1643; *id.* to *id.*, March 10, 1643; 55-5-24, *id.* to *id.*, May 29, 1643.

¹³⁹ A. de I., 55-5-24, *Junta de guerra* to crown, January 12, 1645; Geronimo de Sandoval's report, February 14, 1645; *Fray Antonio Camaso's* opinions, February 15, 1645, etc. Don Alvaro asked for powder, munitions, firearms, and a garrison of fifty for each of the new forts, including for each a captain, sergeant, drummer, fifer, chaplain, barber and four artillerymen. He reported that he had appointed Captain Pedro Henriquez de Noboa, former warden of Punta, to be warden at Coximar temporarily, and, similarly, he had selected Don Pedro Salgado for the fort at Chorrera. Salgado was assistant to Sergeant Major Lucas de Carvajal, whom the governor praised for the help he had given to the work of building the forts. The governor asked that his appointments be approved, and meanwhile from the other forts' garrisons he assigned men temporarily to both Coximar and the Chorrera. In 1647, Antonio Hurtado del Clavo went to court with a memorial showing why, and how, these forts were built. He had succeeded Pedro Salgado as Alvaro de Luna's choice for warden at Chorrera.

¹⁴⁰ See also A. de I., 147-5-24, a document dated June 25, 1647; *Junta de guerra* to the crown, September 9, 1647; 78-2-4, XII., pp. 38 r., 42, 45 r., *cedulas* of September 17, 1647.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND HISPANIC AMERICA¹

The Monroe Doctrine has been for the American continent at once the most powerful unifying force and the greatest cause of division and misunderstanding. From the standpoint of the United States it might be called "the American fetish". Along with the Washington Doctrine of no entangling alliances it has been the cardinal principle of our foreign policy. As Jefferson said, "It is the offspring of the American Revolution and the most momentous question offered to my contemplation since the Independence". Like many an important principle, it has through the passage of time come to be more of a sentiment than a principle or a policy. And like every sentiment it has as many interpretations as there are kinds of persons who deal with it. To the average North American it means the divine right—as sacred and clear as was ever such right to any monarch—to act as the big brother of all the other American nations. This means first to protect them from all outside interference and, second, to help them in their own difficulties when they seem to have lost their way politically, financially or economically. It makes no difference what question concerning Hispanic America may arise in this country or what difficulty may arise in the south which affects the life of the United States, many immediately call out the Monroe Doctrine as arbiter.

"Why has General Crowder gone to Cuba?" was the question recently appearing from a reader of one of our prominent dailies. "It is due to the Monroe Doctrine, which makes us responsible for fair elections in Cuba," answered the all-wise editor. And no doubt the questioner was entirely satisfied with this simple answer. Because we North Americans are so sure of our generous desire to help all who are in need and so sure of our superiority to all the rest of America, many of us suppose that all Hispanic

¹ This paper is chapter V. of a forthcoming volume entitled *Problems in Pan Americanism*.

American government must be highly appreciative of the help which the Monroe Doctrine makes us in honor bound to give. Of course if the young sinner proves recalcitrant, we, as the unselfish and more experienced brother, desirous only of the other's improvement, must compel him to be good. If anyone questions at all whether this is the right procedure he is met with "We do not discuss the Monroe Doctrine, we enforce it".

It is this attitude of the North American toward the Doctrine, rather than the Doctrine itself, that explains why it has been such a cause of division and misunderstanding. In other words it is a certain interpretation of the Doctrine (a false interpretation, I believe) and not the Doctrine itself, that is so much opposed in Hispanic America. Indeed the original Monroe Doctrine was well received in the south, and from that time until today the declaration in its original sense has been approved by the best minds of Hispanic America.

In these days when all international relations are in flux and when every principle of life is being stripped of its accretions and thoroughly examined, we need a fresh study of the original purposes of the Doctrine which has been the basis of more discussion and more varied interpretation than any other document ever issued by the president of a republic.

ORIGIN OF THE DOCTRINE

The substance of this doctrine, which calls for the exclusion of European colonization and interference in American affairs, had often been stated before the Monroe pronouncement both by North American and South American statesmen. But in 1822, it seemed probable that the efforts of the Holy Alliance to strangle all democratic development in Europe might be extended to the western hemisphere. So Monroe and his advisors felt it necessary to take steps to forestall any such movement. Great Britain was also opposed to the extension of the influence of the Holy Alliance to America, for with the reconquest of Spanish America a large part of the conquered territory might be turned over to France and the large commerce which had been diverted to Great Britain on account of the revolt of the colonies would be seriously affected.

At this time the British Foreign Secretary was the celebrated Canning, one of the most astute men that ever held that office, a man who exercised almost a charmed influence over Hispanic American statesmen of those days, as well as an exaggerated place in the judgments of later Hispanic American historians. His proposal to the United States of an agreement that would checkmate the influence of the Alliance (and incidentally that of the United States) in Hispanic America, has led many historians to erroneously credit him with originating the Monroe Doctrine. At least two strong proofs of the falsity of the "Canning myth", as it has rightly been called, are these: First, the doctrine that Europe must not meddle in American affairs had been stated many times both in North and South America, before it was formally announced by Monroe. Second, the Doctrine had no more strenuous opponent than Canning himself. He later said:

It is not easy to say how much the previous British propositions influenced the message, but the doctrine, if such it can be called, of the presidential message prohibiting all future colonization on the American continent, is absolutely unacceptable to my government and to France. This extraordinary principle will be combated by my government with all its force.

The private correspondence of Canning with some of his friends shows that he did everything possible to combat the Doctrine. In fact, Great Britain has generally been a strong opponent, Lord Salisbury writing to Secretary Olney during the Venezuela controversy that the Monroe Doctrine was not entitled to anyone's respect.

When Canning was asked why he had not sought to prevent the French invasion of Spain, he said:

I sought for compensation in another hemisphere. . . . I resolved that if France had Spain it should not be Spain with the Indies; I called the new world into existence to redress the balance of the old.

This, of course, was nonsense, as the Spanish American colonies had won their independence by their own efforts and had been recognized by the United States as independent govern-

ments two years before Great Britain took any action in the matter. Canning was so irritated by the Monroe Doctrine that he did not permit the United States to participate with Great Britain and Russia in the settlement of the Alaska boundary question. As long as he remained in public life he opposed the Monroe Doctrine in every possible way, and continually impressed upon the Hispanic American republics the advantage to them of an alliance with Great Britain over an alliance with the United States.

And yet, with all this evidence to the contrary, great students like Alberdi have believed this Canning myth and attribute the success of the colonies' struggle for independence to the friendship of Great Britain. Many Hispanic Americans erroneously hold this to be a very important point in showing what they claim was the indifference of the United States to Hispanic America's struggle for independence.

Canning did send to Minister Rush of the United States, who was in London at the time, five proposals concerning the recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies and their protection from the schemes of the Holy Alliance, which he suggested the two governments might jointly announce. But Monroe, advised by his Secretary, Adams, chose rather to announce a purely American doctrine that would be sustained by American authority. This is a most important matter for Hispanic Americans to understand. And for North America it is imperative to realize that the circumstances surrounding the announcement of the Doctrine all point to the fact that our statesmen did not have the least idea that we were providing for ourselves any special privileges in America. As John Quincy Adams, the man who historians believed worded the Doctrine itself, wrote in his diary:

Considering the South Americans as independent nations, they themselves, and no other nation had the right to dispose of their condition. *We* have no right to dispose of them, either alone or in conjunction with other nations. Neither have any other nations the right to dispose of them without their consent.

The most salient features of the famous Doctrine, which was contained in President Monroe's annual message to Congress on December 2, 1823, are the following:

The occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.

The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed, by force, in the

internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose Governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States.²

HOW THE DOCTRINE WAS RECEIVED IN HISPANIC AMERICA

What was Hispanic America's attitude to this new doctrine? Bolivar seems not to have heard of it for quite a while. He never really made any long pronouncement upon it. He did, however, applaud the declaration, and in a letter to the Spanish general whom he was endeavoring to persuade to join the liberal cause, said:

England and the United States protect us. These two nations, which form today the only two powers in the world, will not permit that help be given to Spain.

The Brazilian government, through its minister, Rebello, proposed an alliance between the United States and Brazil which the other Hispanic American republics were invited to join. That government invoked the message of Monroe and the necessity of making impossible any tendency of the mother countries to reconquer their old colonies, observing that

the United States is obliged to place in practice the principle announced in the message (Monroe) giving proof of the generosity and the consistency which animates that government, without counting the eventual sacrifice of men and money.³

On April 6, 1824, Vice-President Santander sent a message to the Colombian Congress in which he referred to the Monroe Doctrine as follows:

The President of the United States has lately signalized his administration by an act eminently just and worthy of the classic land of liberty; and in his last message to the Congress he has declared that he will regard every interference of any European power directed to op-

² James Daniel Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, pp. 778, 786-788.

³ Helio Lobo, *Causas Diplomáticas*.

press or violate the destinies of the independent governments of America as a manifestation of hostile disposition toward the United States. That Government considers every attempt on the part of the Allied Powers to extend their system to any portion of the American hemisphere as perilous to the peace and safety of the United States. This policy, consolatory to human nature, would secure to Colombia a powerful ally should its independence and liberty be menaced by the Allied Powers. As the Executive cannot regard with indifference the march which the policy of the United States has taken, it is sedulously occupied in reducing the question to decisive and conclusive points.

About the same time Santander addressed a note to Secretary Adams in which he said:

My Government has received with the greatest pleasure the message, worthy of its author, which expresses the sentiment of the country over which he presides.

He even went so far as to propose an alliance between the United States and Colombia to sustain the principles of the Monroe Doctrine.

From Buenos Aires United States Minister Rodney wrote on February 10, 1824, to President Monroe that his message had been received two days before, that it had inspired the Argentine people, and that it would have the "happiest effect throughout the whole Spanish provinces". On May 22nd he wrote Secretary Adams that the frank and firm message of the President had been productive of happy effects; but that he looked not so much to its temporary influence as to its permanent operation. "We had it immediately translated", he wrote, "into the Spanish language, printed and generally circulated in this quarter, Peru and Chile."

On December 16, 1824, the congress of the United Provinces of Río de la Plata opened its sessions at Buenos Aires. In a message of the government of Buenos Aires, laid before that body on the same date, the American policy of the United States was referred to in the following terms:

We have fulfilled a great national duty toward the republic of the United States of North America. That republic, which, from its origin,

presides over the civilization of the New World, has solemnly acknowledged our independence. It has at the same time made an appeal to our national honor by supposing us capable of contending single-handed with Spain; but it has constituted itself the guardian of the field of battle in order to prevent any foreign assistance from being introduced to the aid of our rival.

Governor Las Heras, of Buenos Aires, on receiving United States Minister Forbes a little later, said:

The Governor of the United Provinces recognizes the importance of the two principles which the president of the United States has announced in his message to Congress and, convinced of the usefulness of their adoption by each of the states of this continent, will consider it his duty to back them, and for this purpose will accept any opportunity that is presented.

Chile gave a most genuine response to President Monroe's message. The papers of Santiago seemed to discover in the Monroe Doctrine a frank and explicit promise of effective protection for the Spanish American republics against the political combinations and military projects of European monarchs. A delegate of the chief executive, upon the occasion of receiving Mr. Allen, the newly-appointed Minister of the United States to Chile, expressed the gratitude of his government for the recognition of the independence of the new states and for the recent declaration of President Monroe which placed them beyond the reach of the coalitions of European monarchs.

The cordial declarations of the Foreign Office of the Central American Government in 1825, also heartily approved the Doctrine.⁴

It would be easy to present other indorsements of the Monroe Doctrine by the Hispanic American countries in those early days, but these are sufficient to show that at that time they had no idea of anything being involved in the doctrine which made it dangerous to Hispanic America. It will be remembered that in the call for the Panama Congress it was proposed to make the

⁴ Cited in another chapter of the volume from which this chapter is taken (*see note 1*).

Monroe declaration a common principle of all the American governments. This is one of the strongest indications that the correct interpretation of the Doctrine rejects the inference that the United States reserves to itself the privilege of doing the things it will not suffer Europe to do. If this earlier interpretation had been retained in practice the present bitterness against the Doctrine would never have developed in Hispanic America.

The Monroe message states very clearly the three following propositions: first, that there shall be no future colonization in America by European powers; second, that there shall be no extension of the monarchical system to republican America; third, that the United States will defend the independence of these American countries against European aggression. During the years that followed we seem to have added two corollaries to these three propositions: that European governments must not acquire any of the American governments' territory, even with the consent of the nation involved or by the adjustment of boundaries; and that non-American governments cannot occupy any portion of the American republics even temporarily for the satisfaction of any kind of claims against these republics. The first three of these proposals are the original Doctrine. The latter two are interpretations allowed by the Doctrine and which have developed out of recent experience in dealing with the Caribbean countries.

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE DOCTRINE

One of the greatest questions most often debated concerning the Doctrine is whether or not it is a purely selfish one, announced merely to protect the United States or designed as one of those altruistic services which we North Americans like to think we are doing to help smaller nations. Let us listen to what some present North Americans say about that phase of the subject: Mr. Root says:

The Doctrine is not international law, but it rests upon the right of self-protection and that right is recognized by international law. The right is a necessary corollary of independent sovereignty. It is well

understood that the exercise of the right of self-protection may and frequently does extend in its effect beyond the limits of territorial jurisdiction of the state exercising it. . . . The most common exercise of the right of self-protection outside of a state's own territory, and in time of peace, is the interposition of objection to the occupation of territory, of points of strategic military or maritime advantage, or to indirect accomplishment of this effect by dynastic arrangement. . . . Of course each state must judge for itself when a threatened act will create such a situation. If any state objects to a threatened act and the reasonableness of its objection is not assented to, the efficacy of the objection will depend upon the power behind it.

It is doubtless true that in the adherence of the American people to the original declaration there was a great element of sentiment and sympathy for the people of South America who were struggling for freedom and it has been a source of great satisfaction to the United States that the course which it took in 1823 concurrently with the action of Great Britain played so great a part in assuring the right of self-government to the countries of South America. Yet is it to be observed that in reference to the South American Governments, as in all other respects, the international right upon which the declaration expressly rests is not sentiment or sympathy or a claim to dictate what kind of government any other country shall have, but the safety of the United States.

Mr. John Bassett Moore says:

The Monroe Doctrine was in its origin a defiance to those who would suppress independent governments and restore the system of commercial monopoly and political absolutism on the American continents. It was in this sense that it found an enthusiastic response in popular opinion.

Ex-president Taft has seen this point very clearly and says:

The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed for the purpose of upholding the territorial dignity and political independence of the nations of South and Central America. It binds the United States to the exact course which the League of Nations demands of all nations.

Mr. Henry W. Taft says:

The Monroe Doctrine is not a principle of international law. It is a national policy based on the right of every nation to protect itself

against acts tending to embarrass it in preserving its own national interests or political institutions. It is founded upon the same right as the familiar concert of European powers, except that it affects a greater number of nations more widely separated geographically, and is asserted by a single powerful nation, able, without the sanction of treaty stipulations, to maintain it. It does not become effective so much by the acquiescence of the American nations subject to its operation as from its recognition by nations of other parts of the world as a political policy which cannot be disregarded by them except at the risk of war with the United States.

Mr. John Bigelow says:

In order properly to appreciate the significance of the Monroe Doctrine it must be clearly recognized that it was designed primarily for the protection of the United States, the safeguarding of its territory and political institutions, the effect of which would be, indirectly, to work to the advantage of the Latin American countries by affording them the opportunity to work out their problems without interference from European powers.

Secretary of State Lansing gave the Senate the following account of the conversations which led to the Lansing-Ishii agreement:

Then it was during the same interview that we mentioned "paramount interests," and he (Ishii) made a reference to the Monroe Doctrine of the Far East; and I told him that there seemed to be a misconception as to the underlying principle of the Monroe Doctrine; that it was not an assertion of primacy or paramount interest by the United States in its relation to other American republics; that its purpose was to prevent foreign powers from interfering with the separate rights of any nation in this hemisphere and that the whole aim was to preserve to each republic the power of self-development. I said further that so far as aiding in this development the United States claimed no special privileges over other countries. . . .⁵

Rear-Admiral Chester says:

The first principle of the Monroe Doctrine—self-preservation—is axiomatic and immutable, and all other considerations must give way

⁵ For a luminous discussion of the Monroe Doctrine in all its aspects political and economic, see *Proceedings of the American Society of International Law*, 1914.

to it. The second principle, like the constitution of a country, is amenable to changes and amendments that will bring it into accord with new conditions that may arise in the country. The question now, therefore, is, do the same conditions prevail on the western continent today as in 1823? . . . Many of the twenty other American Republics are no longer the weaklings they were when the policy was formulated, but are now strong enough to share the common defense of the continent. We cannot, however, with propriety form an alliance, for that word has been tabooed by an unwritten law of the land, but we can engage in an "entente," as foreigners call it, with the republics of South America that will give them a share in the responsibility of maintaining a policy which looks to the good of all parties concerned.

As Admiral Chester says, the doctrine is partly selfish and partly altruistic, as every natural principle should be. It seems very natural to suppose that the United States, being a weak nation in the early days, was particularly interested in protecting itself and also in advancing the great idea of democracy of which it was the pathfinder. Democratic government it selfishly and unselfishly desired to see grow—selfishly in that the development of such government on the American continent would tend to strengthen its own life, unselfishly in that it wished to encourage and assist other small nations to realize the same ideal.

A more practical question concerning the application of the Monroe Doctrine is the extent to which the United States assumes responsibility before the world for the shortcomings of the other American nations. If we say to Europe, "You are to keep completely out of this continent", how far do we expect to see to the just settlement of European complaints against those countries? Consider, for example, the matter of the collection of debts. If we will not let France enter Santo Domingo and take a couple of ports in payment of a ten million dollar debt, how far shall we interfere to make Santo Domingo pay? If an English subject is killed in Mexico and we do not allow England to obtain satisfaction by seizing Mexican territory, how far are we to assume the authority to punish Mexico and force her to deal fairly with England?

We have stated (Roosevelt said it, and it has been intimated many times by our government) that we will not keep European

governments from collecting their debts in the American republics. In fact we have permitted them to take measures to enforce payment of such debts as long as this did not mean territorial acquisition by them. At the time when intervention in Mexico was begun, with the announced purpose of collecting debts which that country owed Great Britain, France, and Spain the United States was invited to join with them. The situation was tried out to ascertain our attitude, and Secretary Seward wrote that the United States had no objection to these countries collecting their debts from Mexico. When it came to the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico, however, our attitude was very different.

We have never agreed with the claims of certain Hispanic American statesmen that debts should never be collected forcibly. We have adopted the Hague agreement that the question of debts of this kind shall be arbitrated, but we have undertaken to use moral suasion and more recently have actually assumed responsibility for managing the finances of certain republics in order to save them from a foreign foreclosure. We have thus assumed a protectorate over both Santo Domingo and Haiti because it was claimed that these countries were likely to be seized by European countries for non-payment of debt. But we have still to determine how far we will go in straightening out the financial difficulties of Hispanic American countries that seem to be in danger from European creditors.

The precedent of Santo Domingo, Haiti, and Nicaragua seems to indicate pretty clearly that, at least in the Caribbean, or what Admiral Chester calls the "larger Panama Canal Zone", we will take action before risking that of any foreign country. Indeed diplomatic aid in resuscitating the finances of Honduras, Cuba, Costa Rica, and possibly Mexico is now being extended by the United States, although in the case of Mexico the proceedings are still in the formative stage. It is interesting to note that the shift in world credit due to the war makes it altogether probable that the United States will itself more and more assume the rôle of creditor to these republics and that problems in connection with payment of debts will be given an entirely new turn.

European nations are not in position to finance foreign governments to any great extent, however profitable it might be.

It has been suggested by some thoughtful students that the Monroe Doctrine should be limited to Caribbean countries or at least those north of the Amazon, for the reason that the zone of defense of the Canal and of the continental United States extends no farther than that, and also for the reason that the countries farther south have grown strong in their own power and neither need nor appreciate our proffered protection. While a formal pronouncement of any such limitation of the Doctrine will probably never be made, it is almost certain that its application will be limited to this northern zone, as has been the case in the past. It may well be recalled in this connection that even when England and France intervened in Argentina, and Spain in Chile and Peru, the United States did no more than express sympathy to these countries. In this connection Dr. Estanislao Zaballos, of Buenos Aires, has said:

What other countries of America have the same world problems as Panama or Mexico, the latter on the frontier of the United States and the former at the throat of the continent itself. They have nothing in common with the problems of the River Plate or the shores of Brazil or the coasts of Chile. The Monroe Doctrine is necessary today to the United States. The Caribbean washes the shores of the richest part of the United States and it is necessary that it be dominated by them in order to guarantee the independence and security of the United States.

The most important question concerning the Doctrine is whether it means that Europe must stay out of Hispanic American affairs and that the United States may go in, or simply that Europe shall stay out. It is difficult to see anything in the Monroe Doctrine to justify the assumption of an aggressive policy on the part of the United States toward Hispanic America. The original doctrine claims nothing for the United States that it does not concede to every other American nation. If in the Monroe Doctrine the United States arrogates to itself supremacy in the western hemisphere, it is only with respect to non-American powers, and with respect to them it wishes every American

nation to be supreme. There is nothing in it that makes its provisions a monopoly by the United States. The proclamation of a similar doctrine by each of the other American nations would strengthen rather than impair the force of the Monroe declaration.

In his address at the unveiling of the Bolivar statue in New York, President Harding clearly emphasized that the United States reserves no special privileges to itself under the Monroe Doctrine. Speaking to the entire Hispanic American diplomatic corps, he said:

There have been times when the meaning of Monroeism was misunderstood by some, perverted by others and made the subject of distorting propaganda by those who saw in it an obstacle to the realization of their own ambitions. . . . They have falsely charged that we sought to hold the nations of the Old World at arm's length in order that we might monopolize the privilege of exploitation for ourselves. Others have protested that the doctrine would never be enforced if to enforce it should involve us in actual hostilities.

The history of the generations since that Doctrine was proclaimed has proved that we never intended it selfishly; that we had no dream of exploitation. On the other side, the history of the last decade certainly must have convinced all the world that we stand willing to fight, if necessary, to protect these continents, these sturdy young democracies, from oppression and tyranny.

Nevertheless the Monroe Doctrine has been a continual source of irritation to the Hispanic American nations. At first they accepted it gladly, as we have seen, as protecting them from Europe, but later we see it becoming in their eyes an instrument through which the United States presumed to dictate to them. "America for the Americans", they say, means "America for the North Americans".

In the early days no such talk was heard as this of Señor José de Astorga, writing recently in *La Revista de America*:

. . . The importance of securing concerted movement and unanimity of action among the countries of Latin America in order to offset the imperialistic ambitions of the United States is urgent and of extreme importance. The protests of con-fraternity, of disinterestedness and of respect for the political sovereignty and the commercial

independence of Latin America which the Government of the United States sets forth so freely on every occasion, are not able to counteract or to lessen the eloquence of deeds, and these are the deeds: Tutelage over Cuba; the abduction of Panama; the embargo on the custom houses of Santo Domingo; economic and military intervention in Central America; the "big stick," "dollar diplomacy" and the Lodge declaration.

The Hispanic Americans, however, are not alone in interpreting the Monroe Doctrine as meaning that the United States retains the right to control the western hemisphere. There are not a few North Americans who hold this view. These extracts from *America Among the Nations*, by Professor H. H. Powers, are certainly disquieting:

It is difficult to follow the expansion of America in the Caribbean without feeling that it will go farther. Whether it should go farther is not the question. This is neither an indictment nor a propaganda, but a study. No more is assumed than that national character shows a certain continuity, and that incentives which have been potent in the past are likely to be potent in the future. If so much be conceded, then the further development of Caribbean domination seems assured. If the considerations which have impelled us to restrict the liberty of Cuba, to take over the financial problems of Santo Domingo and to assume the management of Hayti, are legitimate then there is more work of this kind for us to do. Conditions were no worse in Hayti than in other Caribbean countries. Utter recklessness and incompetency have characterized the management of every one of these pseudo-states which the preoccupations of the real nations have temporarily abandoned to independence. It was a matter of chance which one of the dancers should first pay the piper, but all have danced and all must pay. As each faces in turn the inevitable crisis, the same problem presents itself. What reason is there to believe that we shall not meet it in the same way? (P. 140)

To the independence party Central America is its own little world. To the imperialistic party it is but a pawn on the mighty chessboard of world empire. We may sympathize with the one or the other but we must not judge the one by the standards of the other. The United States plays the vaster game, must play it and play it well, for the stake is its existence. (P. 140.)

We have learned subtler ways of winning, more varied ways of ruling. We have found new reasons for old impulses, and old impulses have renewed their youth.

Finally, we are still confronted with opportunity. More than any other people we have prizes within our grasp. And we are grasping them. Never was our frontier more alive than it is today. Acquisition of new territory has become a commonplace and passes unnoticed. Not one American in a hundred realizes that we have a protectorate over Hayti and that our control is creeping out through all these southern seas. If he knew, his only reaction would probably be a slightly increased complacency. The door is thus opened wide for a government, embarrassed by the mischievous irresponsibility of these petty make-believe states, to take refuge in an ever broadening imperialism. Unless the leopard changes his spots this must carry our frontier to the limits we have mentioned. (P. 159.)

Nor is the call of the tropics the only one. The war upon which we have now embarked has incalculable possibilities. We are committed not merely to the redressing of our grievances to date, but to the vastly larger program of settling such difficulties as the war itself may create. Without taking too seriously the fascinating program of "making the world safe for democracy," it is well to remember that the war is to be fought on European soil and in conjunction with nations having possessions in every part of the world. When the peace conference meets we shall hear very little of the sonorous slogans which heralded the war's beginning and much of the concrete problems for which these phrases suggest no very tangible solution. (P. 160.)

Such arguments as these certainly do not represent the best North American thought yet they are common enough to spread wide alarm in Hispanic America.

Probably the most illuminating discussion of the present Hispanic American attitude toward the Monroe Doctrine was the debate in 1914 in the columns of the *Atlantic Monthly* between Professor Hiram Bingham and Señor F. Garcia Calderón. Professor Bingham's article was entitled "The Monroe Doctrine, an Obsolete Shibboleth." He argues for the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine on the following grounds:

1. The Doctrine was proclaimed under a false conception of (a) geographical proximity, for the great centers of South American life

are nearer to Europe than to the United States, and (b) the existence of natural sympathy, which is difficult to encounter in Latin America.

2. Latin America resents our attitude of being "practically sovereign on the continent" and opposed our war with Spain, our interference in Panama, Santo Domingo, etc.

3. It places the United States in the false position of being the collector of Europe's debts, bringing our intervention in these states on many false grounds and thus multiplying the prejudice of Latin America against us.

4. The great growth of some of the South American states in recent years is ignored in the application of the Doctrine. Viscount Bryce represents them as saying, "Since there are no longer rain clouds coming up from the East, why should our friend, however well-intentioned, insist on holding an umbrella over us?"

Professor Bingham concludes:

Let us face clearly the fact that the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine is going to cost the United States an immense amount of trouble, men and money. Carried out to its logical conclusion it means a policy of suzerainty and interference which will earn us the increased hatred of our neighbors, the dissatisfaction of Europe, the loss of commercial opportunity and the forfeit of time and attention which would better be given to settling our own difficult internal problems. The continuance of adherence to the Monroe Doctrine offers opportunity to scheming statesmen to distract public opinion from the necessity of concentrated attention at home by arousing mingled feelings of jingoism and self-importance in attempting to correct the errors of our neighbors.

Señor Calderón, whom readers of his *Latin America, Its Rise and Progress* would certainly not accuse of being partial to the United States, strongly maintained the usefulness of the Doctrine and its acceptability to Hispanic America if properly interpreted. He said:

If the United States would affirm that it also is in accord with the sovereign republics of the south, that it respects the territorial *status quo* in this American continent which its own triumphant expansion seems to threaten, an American system of law would be established, and the union of the two races which govern this huge continent would become a political fact of most far-reaching consequence. We should be

face to face, then, with a new Monroeism as the doctrine of American autonomy, accepted and proclaimed by all the people oversea, who would agree to protect one another against all future attempts at conquest, and then, in place of this vexing and harassing tutelage, we should have a sturdy declaration of American solidarity.

Even by 1911 these generous plans showed signs of development. The United States, Brazil, and Argentina, through friendly intervention, averted an imminent war between Peru and Ecuador. When they pacified Central America, Mexico came to their aid, and thenceforward their action no longer bore any resemblance to the intrusion of foreigners. It was in the name of a doctrine not only North American but Pan American that the peoples of the New World addressed the powerful nations which stood ready to tear them in pieces. No one then criticised this intervention of the great countries of the New World, of North Saxon and South Latin. The United States played its part also—which made its moral influence acceptable to the Spanish American nations.

In principle the Monroe Doctrine is an essential article in the public code of the New World. Two newspapers of Buenos Aires, *La Argentina* and *La Razón*, have come to recognize it as such. In them we read that the United States is the "safeguard of American interests", and they praise the North American republic for the paternal protection which it offers. It is only the brutal expression of the doctrine, the cynical imperialism which is deduced from it, which becomes dangerous to the moral unity of the continent.

The wisest statesmen have no thought of divorcing this doctrine from the future history of America, even when they criticise its excesses most severely.

The men of the North have a civilizing function to fulfil in a continent where they exercise supreme power. If their behavior is disinterested if they prevent war, if they fertilize these new countries abundantly with the gold of their banks, if they become apostles of peace and international justice, no one will ever forget the grandeur of their political rôle in the world's politics.

In considering the behavior of the United States toward its neighbors, we must distinguish quite clearly between its attitude regarding Panama and its policy toward countries south of the Isthmus. Toward South America its intervention deserves only respect. The purely selfish interest of the United States evidently lay in the acceptance of war and anarchy, in accordance with the classical formula "divide and

rule"; yet the United States has kept the peace. From Panama to the La Plata it is working for the union of the peoples and for civilization.

Here, then, is an aspect of the Monroe Doctrine of perpetual usefulness: the struggle against the wars which threaten to ruin the New World, still poor and thinly populated—intervention with the olive branch. In stimulating the union of South American republics the United States is at the same time protecting its own commercial interests, menaced by this perpetual turmoil. If its action were to halt there, if it renounced all territorial acquisition and set its face against all interference with the internal affairs of every state, the doctrine so often condemned would seem born anew and no one would dare to criticise its efficacy. Most of all, it is on the score of irregular political practices, of fomenting revolution, that the excessive tutelage of the United States comes in for most widespread condemnation. An Argentine writer, Manuel Ugarte, has summarized this sentiment in the phrase, "We wish to be brothers of the North Americans, not their slaves". Even if this tutelage were designed to prepare democracies without democratic tradition for self-government after the Saxon method; even if, as in the case of Cuba, it is granted partial liberty and provisional privileges, the passionate feeling for independence which is so widespread throughout America would be exceedingly irritated by this rather contemptuous method of education. Great Britain pays more respect to the autonomy of her colonies than the new Saxon democracy is willing to bestow upon the still fragile independence of some American republics. What would be thought of the attitude of a Conservative minister of Great Britain who put a veto on the action of the Socialist government of Australia by dissolving the colonial Parliament and criticising the laws of the free "Commonwealth"? One cannot comprehend the policy which American peoples are often obliged to endure in their relations with Washington.

In Latin America people do not understand the United States. A few offhand judgments often control the decision which leads Latin Americans to antagonism or to unreflecting infatuation. The Americans of the North are thought to be "practical people". Men say that they are intensely covetous of riches. They have no morality. The business man, always hard and arrogant in mind and brutal in method, is the symbol of the nation. Ideals, dreams, noble ambitions, never stir their breasts. These characteristics of the North American the men of the South, according to their individual ideas, admire or despise.

They forget how austere is the grandeur that Americans of the North acquire from their superb idealism, from their strong Puritan tradition, from the lust of gold made subservient to ambition for power and for influence over men. They are ignorant of the mysticism which forever flourishes in the United States, continually creating new sects, the perpetual Christian Renaissance whose energy was so greatly admired by William James. We must admit that in South American countries, with their narrow and superficial religiosity, we do not find this great concern regarding the line which divides the ideal from the fact. The example of the United States, the reading of its poets, the study of Emerson, the influence of its universities, an examination of the part which wealth has played in this democracy, would, I conceive, go far toward reforming the bad manners of the South and make it appreciate the true fundamentals of the grandeur of North America.

In my book on the Latin democracies I have set forth the contrasts which may easily be established between the Catholicism of the Spanish Americans, the state religion, uniform and formal, and the restless and active Protestantism of the United States; between the mixture of races in the South and that racial pride, "the white man's burden" which controls northern opinion. It would be very easy to push this analysis further and to set forth the strength of aristocratic prejudices among the Spaniards and the very democratic spirit which exists among the Saxons; to contrast the idealism of the North with the less vast, less generous ambition of the South; or the stanch, puritanical domestic life among the South Americans with a certain license of morals which exists in North America. But, in spite of this sharp contrast, there are resemblances not less evident than the divergent traits, an Americanism which gives a certain unity to the entire New World. All evidence points to the conclusion that if the United States acts in accord with Latin America, if the Monroe Doctrine loses its aggressive character, the influence of these twenty nations will be a force in the world's progress which cannot be despised.

That is the serious judgment of one of the great Hispanic American writers and diplomats, a man who becomes most indignant when he discusses North American imperialism.

CONFUSION OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE WITH OTHER POLICIES

With the passing of the years the Monroe Doctrine has been confused with at least three new ideas that have grown up during

the period of our relations with the rest of the American continent. In the first place, we have confused it with the headship of the United States in America.

The United States has developed a hundred times more rapidly than any other country in America, and as a natural outgrowth of that development it has necessarily assumed the headship of the American nations. It is more or less the story of all history. The process is similar to that by which the Bishop of Rome became the Pope—the smaller bishoprics sent their problems to the great man in the city and thus his influence developed until he became supreme. In the same way the United States has grown very naturally into a position of leadership on the American continent. Whether we like it or whether Hispanic America likes it, there is no way of preventing the most advanced and most powerful nation in the group from exercising the greatest influence.

This headship signified, among other things, that we must lead in the building of the Panama Canal, though of course it did not prescribe the method. It likewise meant that we must acquire naval stations and zones of influence for the protection of the Canal and all that that implies. But the Monroe Doctrine has nothing whatever to do with this. These things came about from the position we necessarily assumed as the greatest nation on the continent. Perhaps we did not have to do it in quite the way we did; better ways could have been found. Nevertheless the burden was laid upon us and we could not get away from it, so we took the lead just as other great nations have done in other parts of the world where their influence was dominant. Thus the various "Pan American Congresses" met with little success until the greatest American nation entered and lent its overpowering influence to their promotion.

The second principle with which the Monroe Doctrine is confused is that of imperialism. Imperialism has nothing to do with the Monroe Doctrine, but is merely one of those tendencies of modern nations to take over smaller and more poorly organized countries. We have been following other peoples in doing that, for the tendency is not only world wide but is a

factor in the economic as well as the political field today. Most of our territory has really been gained at the expense of other nations. Let it be said to our credit, however, that in contrast with most modern imperialistic nations, we bought most of the territory acquired. This is our imperialistic policy, a thing apart from the Monroe Doctrine. Let us remind our Hispanic American friends that Chile, Brazil, and Argentina have done like things. The big nations in South America have done as the big nation in North America. Of course it is easy to think the United States is the only sinner in the world, but every big nation is imperialistic. It is not the Monroe Doctrine that prompts us to do these things, it is the great and prepossessing idea of empire building. We are not nearly as guilty on this score as Great Britain.

The third point of confusion is with the idea of Pan Americanism. By Pan Americanism we understand the recognition of a community of interests among all American countries and a determination to work these out coöperatively to the best advantage of all concerned. The present tendency is to create a concert of American powers to act together for mutual protection and help, the maintenance of peace and the promotion of better commercial, political and intellectual relations. And this is not the Monroe Doctrine.

These three matters of headship, imperialism, and Pan Americanism have all exerted an appreciable influence in our relations with Hispanic America, but they should not be confounded with Monroeism. We will clarify our action and our understanding of all inter-American relations as soon as we cease lumping everything related to Hispanic America under the one conception of Monroeism, which, after all, is to the average citizen of the United States largely a sentiment.

The address of President Wilson to the Mexican editors probably delighted Hispanic America more than any other official utterance with the exception of Mr. Root's famous speech at Rio de Janeiro. Mr. Wilson said:

The famous Monroe Doctrine was adopted without your consent, without the consent of any of the Central or South American states.

If I may express it in the terms that we so often use in this country, we said, "We are going to be your big brother whether you want us to be or not". We did not ask whether it was agreeable to you that we should be your big brother. We said we were going to be. Now that was all very well so far as protecting you from aggression from the other side of the water was concerned, but there was nothing in it that protected you from aggression from us, and I have repeatedly seen the uneasy feeling on the part of representatives of the states of Central and South America that our self-appointed protection might be for our own benefit and our own interests and not for the interests of our neighbors. So I said, "Very well, let us make some arrangement by which we will give bond. Let us have a common guarantee, that all of us will sign, of political independence and territorial integrity. Let us agree that if any one of us, the United States included, violates the political independence or the territorial integrity of any of the others, all the others will jump on her."

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

What effect has the World War, which has affected all international relations, had on the Monroe Doctrine? In answering this question one is again confronted with the basic question of the meaning of the Doctrine. President Wilson said, in addressing the Senate on June 22, 1917, that "The nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world." He explained that under this world doctrine no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the weak along with the great and powerful.

President Wilson's understanding of the Monroe Doctrine is here clearly revealed. It is certainly not the same as Professor Bingham had when he advocated its abandonment because it kept us from being well regarded in Hispanic America. The simple Monroe and Wilson insistence that each nation shall have the right to develop along its own lines, without interference from the outside, that, "good faith and justice toward all nations" shall prevail, represents an entirely different concep-

tion. While Monroe's proposal was that no European nation should seek to extend its authority over an American nation, Wilson proposed that no nation in any part of the world should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people.

This interpretation of the Doctrine was the one given it by President Cleveland in dealing with the Venezuelan boundary dispute, when he said that the Doctrine found its basis "in the theory that every nation shall have its rights protected and its just claims enforced". At the same time Secretary Olney pointed out to Great Britain that "the people of the United States had a vital interest in the cause of self-government" and that the British attitude toward Venezuela so threatened the American policy that if the power of the United States was adequate to prevent the carrying out of British purposes it would be done.

It is natural that this doctrine, maintained for a century and resulting in giving weaker nations in America a chance to develop without outside interference, should be of value in developing a world policy that would protect small nations. That the efficacy of the Monroe Doctrine has depended on the force the United States could bring to its support, suggests of course the need of force to support any world application of the same principle—the principle which has been recognized in the formation of the League of Nations.

Just as the Hispanic American peoples had favored the original Monroe Doctrine and appreciated its protection from Europe, so they immediately welcomed the extension of the doctrine to the whole world as embodied in the League of Nations. For strangely enough our southern neighbors, believing that the United States has shifted from the original purpose of the Doctrine and is now using it merely for its own selfish purposes, saw in the proposal to bring the world into the agreement a guarantee that Hispanic America would not only be protected from Europe but from the United States itself.

The League of Nations was received with the greatest enthusiasm by all the southern countries. Here was the movement that would get the American nations beyond the *impassé* which

had been reached in the much talked-of Pan Americanism. For though on one hand the United States could not give up the historic Monroe Doctrine, on the other the Hispanic Americas could never come into free relations with their northern neighbor within that Doctrine if it meant, as it seemed to have come to mean, the hegemony of the United States in the Pan American family.

But here was the way out of the dilemma—make the doctrine world wide. The United States would surrender nothing of its historic insistence that European nations must not project themselves into American life, and Hispanic America would have its fears and its implied inferiority removed, since the United States would thus assume the same obligation to respect the independence of the small American states as did all other nations. Thus the greatest difficulty in the way of continental solidarity would disappear without embarrassment to any of the parties.

This feeling was well expressed by the Cuban, Orestes Ferrara, in his review, *La Reforma Social*, as follows:

When Mr. Wilson and Mr. Taft refer to the declarations of President Monroe and insist that the detachment of American nations will not receive a blow but on the contrary will be more absolute because the doctrine is universally accepted by the establishment of the League, they say something that reveals very clearly how their minds turn to the past when the principle of the independence of American nations was threatened by the transference of the consequences of another great European conflict to American soil. Evidently Wilson and Taft regard the Monroe Doctrine in its original sense, the most just to other rights. It is not so with Senators Knox and Lodge. They think of the Doctrine as it has been practised for the last twenty-five years, which seems to have justified the relations with Panama, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, Haiti, etc., and which has established the absolute dominion of the United States over the Americas. The difference is therefore paramount, being on the one hand a principle and on the other a selfish interest.

The truth is that there has never been a declaration in the international life of the world with purer ideas and more noble purposes than the Monroe Doctrine. The North American statesmen of that time

had the most unselfish ideas about it. Jefferson, from his retirement, gave to it the whole endorsement of his serene mind and tranquil soul. But in the course of time the formula "The United States standing before Europe in defense of the Americas" naturally brought the predominance of the United States in America. And if the United States had not practised in her international relations the Anglo-Saxon principle that the rights of others shall not be interfered with unless one's own interests are clearly threatened, a situation of this kind would have been fatal to the rest of America.

To be more specific, we may affirm that if any other nation than the United States had had her hands free in America as she has, with power to make or unmake the map south of the Rio Grande and even to do so with the blessings of Europe, the rights of Latin America would have suffered profoundly.

But this relative prudence has not vitiated the change of form of the Monroe Doctrine which makes it not the old powerful and unilateral declaration of the early days, but a real program of action which permitted the presidents of the United States to dictate rules for American international politics and even national political rules to apply to other countries. Thus the Caribbean has come to be considered as a *mare nostrum*. The United States has come to regard the Monroe Doctrine, thus transformed, as backing those other policies—trade follows the flag, and dollar diplomacy.

Thus Wilson and Taft on the one hand and Lodge and Knox on the other, since they speak of different periods of the Monroe Doctrine, are both right when one maintains that the League of Nations will maintain the Doctrine intact and the others contend that the opposite is true.

Discussing the question of the League, if the United States, having helped to break the balance of power in Europe by defeating Germany, should remain outside the alliance of the victorious nations, her isolation will not mean her strength but her weakness. The obligations of the Monroe Doctrine would not then be carried against a divided Europe, but before an alliance of states victorious on sea and land. It is not easy to prophesy the difficulties of the future, but it can be seen that the mission assumed by the United States will be full of difficulties, as it has in the past. To share jointly these responsibilities should mean the obviating of conflicts or diminishing the possibility of conflicts which may take place not in Europe but in the tranquil Americas.

On abandoning the rights of exclusive protection, she would be free of multiplied responsibilities and know that, if a conflict occurred, it would be concerning matters that affected her directly and not remotely. The principles of Washington and Monroe would have passed through a complete evolution and become the admitted principles of all humanity, not simply the canons of American law.

The Monroe Doctrine could thus become the doctrine of the world. Only the aspirations of conquest which make of the doctrine of defense of the small nations of this continent an excuse for continual aggression approaching an American Prussianism, will have died forever.

But this wise and just solution of the Pan American *impasse* was not to be. A group of North Americans who appreciated the necessity of protecting their own prerogatives but not those of any other nations, insisted on the Covenant of the League making specific acknowledgment that, while all the nations of the world would surrender all special privileges and rights of interference with their neighbors, the United States must still have the special privilege of determining the course of national development in the western hemisphere. So the following was inserted as Article XXI, of the Covenant:

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

If this article had gone further and defined the Monroe Doctrine as not giving the United States any special privileges on the American continent, but meaning, as President Wilson had intimated, that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, there could have been no objection. But this was not done. And so at one stroke the old situation was continued and made worse. For it looked as if this was a move to have the whole world agree to leave with the United States the determination of all American questions. And, of course, if the Hispanic American nations signed the covenant, they themselves became guarantors of an arrangement which those who insisted on the inclusion of this reservation stated to mean that the

United States would have the right to interfere in the national life of the other American nations whenever it deemed such a course expedient.

Here was Hispanic America's dilemma: If it stayed out of the League it lost the opportunity of being linked up with the only organization that offered to help the small nation. If it went in it signed a document which might mean its agreement to complete domination by its great northern neighbor. Hispanic America was much in the position of a man who is forced to borrow a certain sum of money to escape ruin, but who is asked to sign a note for an unknown amount in order to get the money. It leaves him in doubt as to whether he is to be ruined now or later.

This was what led little Salvador to direct a note to our Department of State asking for a definition of the Monroe Doctrine. This note, in the first place, recites that despite its neutrality in the war, Salvador manifested "its sympathy on every occasion for the ideals which animated the Government of the United States in entering the war", praises President Wilson for "having crystallized the legitimate hopes of a fruitful peace by submitting the draft of a League of Nations covenant", says Salvador, "manifests the desire to adhere to this treaty which sanctions arbitration as the only method of settling disputes between nations", and continues:

The whole text of the treaty is both suggestive and attractive. In it there is a return to those principles of life long awaited by sociologists and publicists. And indeed it seems as if from the ruins of war there have arisen with greater strength and potency the beautiful gospels which in a moment of folly were relegated to the discard by those who through the immutable laws of international interdependence were especially charged with sustaining and upholding them.

The text of the treaty contains however, one article which has awakened warm discussions throughout the whole American continent including the United States, due no doubt to its brevity and lack of clearness. I refer to Article XXI, drafted in the following terms: Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional

understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

The legal scope of this provision from an international viewpoint is open to differing interpretations, since in the vast scheme of the League of Nations treaties of arbitration and regional understandings, such as the Monroe Doctrine, are recognized and sanctioned, despite the fact that as to the highly peaceful purpose of the latter doctrine there does not exist harmonious meeting of minds nor an absolute criterion.

From the year 1823, in which the distinguished James Monroe rejected all intervention by European nations in the affairs of the American continent to the present day, this doctrine has undergone different applications depending upon the diverse political tendencies prevailing at that particular time in the United States.

It would be unnecessary, Mr. Secretary, to undertake any detailed exposition of the various views of prominent thinkers and public men of the United States as to the genuine and correct interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, which former Secretary of State Elihu Root regarded as "a declaration based on the right of the people of the United States to protect itself as a nation, and which could not be transformed into a declaration, joint or common, to all the nations of America or even to a limited number of them".

My Government recognizes that the Monroe Doctrine consolidated the independence of the Continental States of Latin America, and saved them from the great danger of a European intervention. It realizes that it is a powerful factor in the existence of the democratic form of government on this continent and that it raises a barrier to European colonization.

Since, however, the covenant of the League of Nations does not set forth nor determine the purposes nor fix a definite criterion of international relationship in America, and since, on the other hand, the doctrine will be forthwith transformed—in view of the full sanction of the nations of the world—into a principle of universal public law, *juris et de jure*, I request that your Excellency will be good enough to give the authentic interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine as it is understood in the present historical moment and in its future application by the Government of the United States, which must realize that my Government is keenly desirous of securing a statement which shall put an end to the divergence of views now prevailing on the subject, which it is recognized by all is not the most propitious in stimulating the ideals of true Pan Americanism.

Contrary to the authorized and respected view of former Secretary of State Root, the Monroe Doctrine through its inclusion in the covenant of the League of Nations will be converted without doubt into a genesis of American international law.

Since any amendment to the text of the treaty and even the rejection of all of its provisions by the American Senate would still leave intact the various points which this international agreement covers as to the other signatory nations, by virtue of their general and expressed acceptance, the principle embraced in the League of Nations, and therefore the Monroe Doctrine, would be virtually accepted as a fundamental principle of public American law by all those countries that signed or manifested their adherence to the Peace Treaty.

The necessity of an interpretation of the genesis and scope of the Monroe Doctrine not only in the development of the lofty purpose of Pan Americanism, but in order that that Doctrine may maintain its original purity and prestige, is rendered all the more urgent.

Even before El Salvador had written its now famous note to the Department of State, Ex-president Bonilla of Honduras, who represented his country at the Peace Conference, presented to that body the following communication:

In this covenant all peoples represented in this Conference are directly interested; the smaller nations, like that which I represent, more if possible than the greater ones. Its bases, as expressed by the Commission, are not known; but the public press has asserted that amendments have been proposed: among these a proposal by the delegation of North America, to declare that "the pact shall not affect the validity of other international conventions such as the arbitration treaties or regional understandings, like the Monroe Doctrine, to assure the maintenance of peace".

The Monroe Doctrine affects the Latin American republics directly. As it has never been written into an international document, nor been expressly accepted by the nations of the Old Continent, nor of the New World; and as it has been defined and applied in different manners by presidents and other statesmen of the United States of America, I believe that it is necessary that in the pact about to be subscribed it should be defined with entire clearness, in such way that it may be incorporated in the written international law.

The North American delegation is presided over by the Honorable Woodrow Wilson, and it is certain that if the Monroe Doctrine was

not defined the delegation had in mind the definition of interpretation that Mr. Wilson, as President of the United States, has given to it in his various addresses from that which he voiced at Mobile in 1913 to the last in the current year. In these he declared that the Doctrine is not a menace, but is a guaranty for the feeblest of the nations of America; and he repudiated expressly the interpretations that had been made to signify that the United States had a right to exercise a kind of tutelage over the other republics of America.

Especially in his discourse with the Mexican journalists on June 7th, 1919, he declared that the guaranty that this Doctrine implied in favor of the feeble countries is not with relation to the powers of the Old World only, but relates to the United States also; and that he spoke of the celebration of a Pan American pact that might be realized and might include this point. Such declarations have made President Wilson the best of the exponents of the ideals of the peoples of Latin America.

All these facts induce me to present the accompanying proposition, which I hope will merit a favorable reception by the delegation of the United States, and will be supported by the Latin American republics, which with it will pay their tribute of admiration and respect to the First Magistrate of the North American republic, that has given such proofs of its love of justice.

If the American amendment to which I referred is phrased in the terms published, or in others like them, the pact of the League of Nations will be no obstacle to a union or confederation of other form, by the peoples of Latin America, that will tend to a realization of the dream of the immortal Bolívar.

The clause which Dr. Bonilla offered as an addition to the proposed compact of the League of Nations may be translated as follows:

This Doctrine, that the United States of America has maintained since the year 1823, when it was proclaimed by President Monroe, signifies that: All the republics of America have a right to independent existence; that no nation may acquire by conquest any part of the territory of any of these nations, nor interfere with its internal government or administration, nor do any other act to impair its autonomy or to wound its national dignity. It is not to hinder the "Latin" American countries from confederating or in other forms uniting themselves, seeking the best way to realize their destiny.

The view taken generally in Hispanic America of the Salvadorean note is well illustrated by the following editorial utterance of *El Universal*, of Mexico City:

We published yesterday the Note addressed by the republic of El Salvador to the Secretary of State of the North American Union asking for an exact interpretation of the 21st article of the protocol of the League of Nations, referring to the recognition of the Monroe Doctrine by the Latin American nations. It is a document of far-reaching importance.

On the appearance in 1823 of the Monroe Doctrine, it had the character, as has been expressed by the eminent Chilean statesman, Don Alejandro Alvarez, of a sort of gospel of the New World. President Monroe, according to Alvarez, though taking his stand exclusively on the interests of his own country, in his famous message to Congress summarized and expressed admirably and clearly the political situation and aspirations of the whole New World. Circumstances then obtaining in Europe made some such declaration urgent. There was a controversy on between Russia and England over the boundaries of their possessions in America; and besides—and graver still—the countries signatory to the Holy Alliance were suspected of the purpose of coming to the help of Spain for reconquering her lost American colonies. When, therefore, the United States proclaimed its affirmation that the New World ought to be governed by republican organizations, and that all the countries on this side are free and equal, as relates to Europe, the independence of the bourgeoning republics was assured—an attitude on the part of the Northern Republic which cannot fail to meet with the goodwill of the other countries.

Up to that point, and for the reasons set forth, the Monroe Doctrine could not be considered a particular expression of the sentiments of the United States; it was rather the crystallization in international relations of the aspirations of all America. But since then, as the various countries of the continent have gone forward in their evolution, the Latin republics have not always moved harmoniously with the United States—nor even with one another. Thus it has come about that while some publicists consider the Monroe Doctrine as a sort of tacit agreement among all the American nations for warding off the occupation of territory by Europe, or its active intervention in American affairs, there are others who have come to believe that the only thing the United States had in view in promulgating the Doctrine was to substitute their own

intervention for that of Europe in the affairs of the other nations of this continent, and, in that connection, it has not yet been settled whether acts of imperialism, deliberately engaged in by the United States against the sovereignty of Latin American republics, are or are not subject to regulation by the Monroe Doctrine.

It is a state of things which has resulted in many misunderstandings. We do not know, really, what to think; as, in view of diverse and even contrary interpretations by different statesmen, the Monroe Doctrine or "Monroeism" has become something extremely foggy and obscure. It is to this fact that is due the lack of confidence in it on the part of the Latin republics; to this, and to nothing else, was due the statement on the part of our Government recently that it did not recognize that Doctrine.

President Wilson himself seemed to justify that want of confidence when he suggested in his address to the Mexican editors in June, 1919, that all the Latin American countries should undertake a revision of that Doctrine and should come to an agreement that would put the question of their independence outside the danger of any imperialistic encroachment. If thus the very author of the League of Nations admitted less than a year before that it was only natural that the Monroe Doctrine should inspire some want of confidence in Latin America, as not being a real community pact, how can those nations, which have not yet been called into the consultation, adhere to the League of Nations in which the Monroe Doctrine is explicitly recognized?

As we see the matter, El Salvador has put a finger on the sore spot, as the saying goes, in this most complicated matter of American politics. Will its note bring about a general revision, a Pan American revision such as Wilson intimated, of the Monroe Doctrine? Unless some such thing happens, we do not see how the Latin American nations can sign a compact, such as that of the League of Nations, unless some light can be thrown on a matter that so profoundly concerns their interests.

The framing of a reply to Salvador taxed the ingenuity of our Department of State. But a way out was happily found by a simple citation of the address of President Wilson before the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, where the President had discussed the Monroe Doctrine as follows:

The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed by the United States on her own authority. It has always been maintained, and always will be

maintained, upon her own responsibility. But the Monroe Doctrine demanded merely that European governments should not attempt to extend their political systems to this side of the Atlantic. It did not disclose the use which the United States intended to make of her power on this side of the Atlantic. It was a hand held up in warning, but there was no promise in it of what America was going to do with the implied and partial protectorate which she apparently was trying to set up on this side of the water, and I believe you will sustain me in the statement that it has been fears and suspicions on this score which have hitherto prevented the greater intimacy and confidence and trust between the Americas. The states of America have not been certain what the United States would do with her power. That doubt must be removed. And latterly there has been a very frank interchange of views between the authorities in Washington and those who represented the other states of this hemisphere, an interchange of views charming and hopeful, because based upon an increasingly sure appreciation of the spirit in which they were undertaken. These gentlemen have seen that, if America is to come into her own, into her legitimate own, in a world of peace and order, she must establish the foundations of amity, so that no one will hereafter doubt them.

I hope and believe that this can be accomplished. These conferences have enabled me to foresee how it will be accomplished. It will be accomplished, in the first place, by the states of America uniting in guaranteeing to each other absolute political independence and territorial integrity. In the second place, and as a necessary corollary to that, guaranteeing the agreement to settle all pending boundary disputes as soon as possible and by amicable process; by agreeing that all disputes among themselves, should they unhappily arise, will be handled by patient, impartial investigation and settled by arbitration; and the agreement necessary to the peace of the Americas, that no state of either continent will permit revolutionary expeditions against another state to be fitted out on its territory, and that they will prohibit the exportations of munitions of war for the purpose of supplying revolutionists against neighboring governments.

This reply was received by Salvador with diplomatic expressions of appreciation, but that country's leaders, as well as those of other Hispanic American countries, recognize that the sentiments expressed by one of our presidents before a scientific gathering cannot be considered as an authoritative and

binding definition of any fundamental policy like the Monroe Doctrine. They want rather a declaration in which the executive and legislative branches of the government, after a discussion which allowed public opinion to express itself, would officially state the position of the nation.

The following words of Señor A. de Manos-Albas, written a few years ago in the English *Review of Reviews*, still remain true:

The means to accomplish unity of sentiment and to dispel the misgivings between the United States and Latin America is not far to seek. It is only required to amplify the Monroe Doctrine to the full extent of its logical development. . . . If the United States should declare that the era of conquest on the American continent has been closed to all and forever, beginning with themselves, the brooding storm of distrust will disappear from the Latin American mind, and an international cordiality of incalculable possibilities will ensue, not only for the welfare of the American nations, but universally for the cause of freedom and democracy.

At this writing the United States is in a most peculiar position. Having insisted upon inserting the Monroe Doctrine clause into the Covenant, a clause in which no other nation in the world was interested and to which many were opposed, the United States finds itself the only nation of consequence out of the League. The Hispanic American countries were so enthusiastic for the League idea that fourteen out of twenty of them signed, with the Monroe Doctrine clause and all, almost without debate. The United States was expected to join as well. Most of these countries followed the United States into the war and they all thought they were going with that country into the League. Now they are awakening to the fact that their supposed leader is not with them, and the situation is a bit disconcerting to some of them.

The situation reminds one of an incident in the French Revolution when a group of politicians sat discussing matters of state. A great mob rushed by the building. One of the group jumped to his feet, ran to the door and exclaimed, "There go my people. I must hurry and follow them, for I am their leader!"

The complaisant North American may smile at the mention

of the possibility of our losing our position of dominance on this continent, but the present situation at least suggests the development of a condition which will unite the rest of America with Europe rather than with us. It is easy to note that among Hispanic Americans there is great confusion over the situation, and some frankly say that the present division may mean a final separation of the Hispanic American countries from North America. Commenting on the presidential election in the United States, *La Nación*, of Buenos Aires, a paper which all during the war ardently supported the United States, said:

Confronted with the dilemma of abandoning either the League of Nations or the Monroe Doctrine, the Latin American countries probably would choose to abandon the latter. Many people in the United States have believed that the various South American countries, members of the League, would withdraw in order to follow the policy inspired by the United States, and contrary, naturally, to the League. . . .

The declaration on the Monroe Doctrine Senator Harding made to the correspondent of *La Nación* hardly seems an adequate cause for the South American members of the League to abandon it. In effect Senator Harding told our correspondent that the Monroe Doctrine was not an international pact or agreement but a declaration of policy by the United States which promised protection against abuses or aggressions by European nations, precisely an interpretation which causes the greatest resistance from most, if not all, of these countries, and which is contrary to the interpretation President Wilson has given, according to which the Doctrine established among the American nations a most perfect equality—an equality that cannot exist if the question of protection that is not asked is the product entirely of the one-sided resolution of a power declaring itself the protector against dangers in which no one believes.

If the United States does not form part of the League, these southern countries will find themselves in a different camp from the United States, having acquired a special status in relation to other members of the League, and will be forced to consider the United States as a factor to some extent foreign to the development of their peaceful policy. This surely will not be satisfactory either to them or to us, in view of the sincere desire of

both parties that an accord shall exist between the two sections of the continent.

This reported interview with President Harding raises an important question concerning the Monroe Doctrine about which there is absolute difference of opinion. The President is reported as intimating that the Doctrine is not to be considered as an international agreement, but solely as a declaration of the United States, maintained by the power of the United States. Secretary Root, already quoted, also said that it would under no circumstances become a joint agreement.

But President Roosevelt said, in an address at Rio de Janeiro:

All the nations which are sufficiently advanced, such as Brazil and the United States, should participate on an absolute equality in the responsibilities and development of this doctrine so far as the interests of the western hemisphere as a whole are concerned. It must be made a continental and not a unilateral doctrine. . . . If ever, as regards any country, intervention does unfortunately become necessary, I hope that wherever possible it will be a joint intervention by such powers as Brazil and the United States, without the thought of self-aggrandizement by any of them, and for the common good of the western world.

As has already been shown, President Wilson accepted the same idea of the Monroe Doctrine being extendable not only to all America but to the whole world. In this same spirit were his words in addressing Congress December 7, 1915, when he said:

There was a time in the early days of our great nation and of the republics fighting their way to independence in Central and South America, when the government of the United States looked upon itself as in some sort the guardian of the republics to the south of her as against any encroachments or efforts at political control from the other side of the water; felt it its duty to play the part even without invitation from them; and I think that we can claim that the task was undertaken with a true and disinterested enthusiasm for the freedom of the Americas and the unmolested self-government of her independent peoples. But it was always difficult to maintain such a rôle without offense to the pride of the peoples whose freedom of action we sought to protect, and without provoking serious misconceptions of our motives, and every

thoughtful man of affairs must welcome the altered circumstances of the new day in whose light we now stand, when there is no claim of guardianship or thought of wards, but, instead, a full and honorable association as of partners between ourselves and our neighbors, in the interest of all America, north and south.

It is this spirit faithfully carried out that will make all Hispanic America join with us in the support of the Monroe Doctrine and be at one with us in building a continental solidarity. The following comment by *La Prensa*, of Buenos Aires, on this message is expressive of the way all Hispanic America responds to such sentiment:

There has been a gradual and continuous change in the American policy toward the republics of this continent. These changes have been coincident with the visits of prominent Americans to South America, with the result that a better knowledge of the state of civilization which has been reached by South Americans has become more general. This has been the principal cause of the gradual transformation. The Monroe Doctrine is now essentially modified. It is necessary that it should no longer have the character of tutelage that it had at the time of its origin, but it must undergo an evolution toward Pan Americanism.

No higher, more fundamental, more authoritative utterance has been made on the subject that that embodied in President Wilson's message. President Wilson made his statement without reserve and with sincerity, showing that it was the result of serene reflection. According to President Wilson, Monroeism will be a means of defense of this continent, but all the American states will be members of the international community, the United States having the same sovereign rank as the others.

President Wilson's message will be as transcendent as was President Monroe's, both being in accord with regard to solidarity, but differing in regard to the conception of circumstances. President Wilson's program does not lack anything necessary to the high development of ideals.

Let all America then unite in supporting the Monroe Doctrine, and when all have gone into a World League of Nations, let a sub-division of that league act as the American League, suggested by Bolivar in 1826 and by Wilson in 1917, to promote peace and mutual prosperity among all American nations.

Dr. Baltasar Brum, President of Uruguay, in an address before the University students of the capital of his country, has suggested this League of American Nations in the following important declarations:

Owing to the state in which European countries remain after the struggle, it may be said that fear of invasion by them in America has been removed for many years. But is that sufficient reason for us to take no interest in the future and turn away from the Monroe Doctrine with the pretext that it is now unnecessary? I believe that today, more than ever, we should use foresight in searching for formulas that may assure forever the peace and full independence of American countries.

The principles of American solidarity, based on the constitution of a continental league, is more ample than the Monroe Doctrine, because it will not only defend the countries of America against foreign invaders but also against imperialistic tendencies which might arise among themselves.

The formation of this league, in my opinion, would be a logical consequence of the Treaty of Versailles, which, in recognizing and expressly accepting the Monroe Doctrine, seems to be desirous of limiting its field of action, so far as American affairs are concerned. On the other hand, the Supreme Council of the League of Nations is composed principally of the delegates of the great powers, nearly all the American countries having been excluded. These countries need, therefore, to create a powerful organization to look after their interests in the decisions arrived at by the League of Nations. Harmonious and joint action by the "American League" would avoid European intervention in our affairs.

Some have objected to this League of American Nations because they fear it would become a rival to the World League. But there seems to be no reason why such a league would not really strengthen the world league by assuring its unanimous support by all American nations. These nations would naturally discuss beforehand the questions to come before the League and decide upon the attitude of all the American nations. Indeed it could easily and profitably develop into a kind of sub-committee of the committee of the whole, to consider purely American matters. By such a relationship the American nations could settle their own questions, but with the double advantage that

these smaller nations would have some final appeal in case of absolute injustice by the one American power that is easily able to impose its will on all the rest of the continent; also the cis-Atlantic nations would be enabled to have direct touch with the American nations in working toward the peace and prosperity of the world at large.

We are today in the midst of one of those great world epochs when all relations with and inheritances from the past are in flux. The best of the past must be readjusted, reformed, redefined to contribute to the future—the new day, which, whether, we like it or not, is different from the old.

The Monroe Doctrine has been the greatest influence on the American continent for preserving the republican form of government. It is today neither an "obsolete shibboleth" nor an "international impertinence", if understood in the original and true sense. There is no question that the Doctrine has been made to cover a multitude of sins, political and commercial, and is abused by North American jingoes. The wrong appeal to and interpretation of the Doctrine has developed among the Hispanic American peoples a prejudice against it, and among the statesmen of the south an insistent demand for a definition of its present application. If we can be big enough to put ourselves in the place of our southern neighbors we must acknowledge that they have a right to a clear understanding of how far the Doctrine means "America for the Americans" and how far it means "America for the North Americans". If we are to retain our leadership in America and in the world in this new age when the rights of the small nation and the common man are the concern of all and when a righteous peace in the world is the pearl of great price for which all else may be sacrificed, we will turn toward world friendship rather than shrivel into a Prussian nationalism.

And if we are honest, as we believe we are, in our contention that, as Secretary Root said, "We wish for no victories but those of peace, for no territory except our own", and as Roosevelt said, "This Doctrine has nothing to do with the commercial relations of any American powers save that it in truth allows

each of them to form such as it desires", and, as President Wilson said, "Let us have a common guarantee that all of us will sign, an agreement of political independence and territorial integrity"—if we really mean these things, let us make them so clear and so authoritative that our worst enemies cannot but admit that our relations with Hispanic America are guided, as John Hay said they were with China, by the open door and the golden rule, and that the Monroe Doctrine is the simple expression of our commitment to the principles of American democracy, developed without outside interference, and of our willingness to give the last drop of our blood for its defense.

SAMUEL GUY INMAN.

FRENCH VIEWS OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE MEXICAN EXPEDITION

From the beginning of its history, the United States has followed more or less consciously a policy of isolation. This tendency, noticeable as early as 1780 in the statements of Thomas Pownall, John Adams, and others, was continued by Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and Madison, until it found more definite expression in the famous statement of Monroe in 1823. This state of affairs was early recognized in Europe, as well; but however much the separation of the American continent in policy and in fact may have been appreciated by European statesmen, they have ever been careful to give it as little formal recognition as possible.

It was only in the United States, then, that the converse of our isolation policy—that of European aloofness—took shape. One phase of the doctrine, however, was as natural and inevitable as the other; and in order to impress on Europe our convictions as to the separation of the two hemispheres, it became necessary to formulate and state the further idea that it was the natural province of the United States, as the leading American power, to keep Europe from altering conditions in America. So it came about that the United States asserted its self-assumed authority as the natural guardian of the western hemisphere on a number of occasions. And it has been this phase of the policy which has given rise to a uniformly hostile attitude of European states, no less hostile because it has been for the most part latent or potential.

European unwillingness to accept our protective authority in the New World, or even in North America, has been displayed on practically every occasion when such an attitude could be shown to the possible advantage of European interests. Any indulgence or respect which has been displayed toward our traditional policy has been due to European rivalries and preoccupa-

tion elsewhere, or to the vigorous and easily-displayed strength of the United States, or, more particularly, to the Atlantic Ocean—the factor which first prompted our isolation policy and which has more than any other single thing made its continuation possible.

Now and then some particular issue has focused the attention of one power or another on the status in the New World and elicited a storm of criticism and disapproval in the foreign press. It is, of course, impossible to cite here the particular attitude of European states toward this characteristic policy of the United States in each specific instance where definite issues have been raised. The armed invasion of Mexico by the French, however, is a striking case in point, which offers a good opportunity for the study of European attitude toward the jealous American doctrine, not only because this was the only thorough violation of the Monroe Doctrine, but also because it was instituted by a combination of the three European colonizing Powers; England, France, and Spain. Moreover, it was no accident that the year 1861, when the United States was in the midst of a terrible civil struggle, was chosen for the only successful attempt ever made by a foreign state to plant a colony in America against the will of an Hispanic American state.

In this instance, the causes of intervention were many and confused, beginning with the Mexican revolt from Spain in 1821. From that time there had been internal war and anarchy in Mexico. For a number of years a contest raged between two parties, styled Liberals and Clericals. In that civil war, considerable damage was suffered by subjects of foreign nations, and notably by French, English, and Spanish nationals. Claims for damage in each case mounted high. England complained because of the long mistreatment of its subjects and the denial of the usual privileges to its diplomatic representatives. Besides the British Legation at Vera Cruz had been seized and rifled of a sum of £150,000 on November 16, 1860. Spain was wroth because the government of the Juárez faction, having the upper hand in 1861, refused to recognize a Spanish treaty of 1859 made with the then *de facto* government, whereby the validity

of certain long-standing Spanish claims had been recognized. To that had been added the expulsion of the Spanish minister later.¹

The claim of France for reparation rested on supposed injuries to French subjects, culminating in the refusal of the Juárez government to honor the so-called Jecker bonds, which one of the many factional leaders, Miramon, had issued before his defeat and deposition somewhat earlier. Juárez agreed to repay the 5 per cent (\$750,000), which had been advanced by France in cash, but refused to pay the face value of the bonds, which amounted to \$15,000,000. The determination to press this unjust claim (Jecker was, moreover, a Swiss banker, naturalized in France under unusual conditions) led to the only instance where France offered a greater threat to the Monroe Doctrine than any other European power.² And France appears to have had the weakest case against Mexico of any of the injured powers in 1861.³

The first phase of the intervention was not wholly unreasonable. Having failed to receive satisfaction from separate presentation of their claims, the three powers formed a triple alliance at London, October 31, 1861, wherein they vowed that,

The high contracting parties engage not to seek for themselves, in the employment of the coercive measures contemplated by the present Convention, any acquisition of territory, nor any special advantage, and not to exercise in the internal affairs of Mexico any influence of a nature to prejudice the right of the Mexican nation to choose and to constitute freely the form of its Government.⁴

This pledge was kept by Spain and England, which at first coöperated with France in preparing a punitive expedition. A triple fleet, loaded with troops and commanded by a Spanish General (Prim), sailed for Mexico and prepared to bombard

¹ Daniel Antokoletz, *La Doctrine de Monroe et l'Amérique Latine*, p. 38; Hector Petin, *Les États-Unis et la Doctrine de Monroe*, p. 167.

² M. de Barral-Montferrat, *De Monroe à Roosevelt*, p. 95.

³ Petin, *op. cit.*, p. 167; a quite different view.

⁴ *British and Foreign State Papers*, LI, 947. Cf. also Petin, *op. cit.*, p. 175; and Maurice D. Beaumarchais, *La Doctrine de Monroe, l'Évolution de la Politique des États-Unis au XIXe Siècle*, p. 80.

Vera Cruz. In view of the fleet, the *de facto* government asked to treat, offering to pay all the indemnities which had been asked and to give security for the execution of the agreement. England and Spain declared themselves satisfied, and signed a Convention at Soledad February 19, 1862, which brought their action to an end.⁵

However, the French plenipotentiary, Admiral Gravière, refused to sign, maintaining that the indemnities offered were insufficient, and demanding the entire redemption of the Jecker bonds. This furnished a pretext, at least, for further French action.⁶ Hostilities were commenced shortly after by the French forces, while the government complained bitterly of the "violation" of the treaty of 1861 by its allies.⁷

France had from the first intended to seize Mexico, if possible, regardless of the attitude of Europe, the United States, or Hispanic America. Shortly after the expedition had begun, Napoleon III informed his military commander that he would need to remain in Mexico in order to assist those Mexicans who might desire a strong government, and added that it would be prudent if the two governments (England and Spain) did not discourage those efforts which might be attempted by the country to extricate itself from the anarchy into which it was plunged.⁸

The French lawyer and historian Petin states that it was obviously to the interests of both England and France to see a strong government set up in Mexico which would be favorably disposed toward them; the more so if the Confederate States won, for then there would be a desire on the part of both North and South to compensate themselves in Mexico. Also he states an European policy for America, by saying:

Such an event could not be looked upon with indifference by England and by France, and the principal obstacle which could prevent its ac-

⁵ Antokoletz, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39 f.

⁷ Barral-Montferrat, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁸ Beaumarchais, *La Doctrine de Monroe*, p. 80.

complishment would be the reconstitution of Mexico by a government strong enough to stop internal dissolution; but the elements of a strong government do not exist in Mexico.⁹

Petin reiterates that the sole French motive in this intervention was to see anarchy succeeded by a stable government, at the same time recognizing the infringement of such an attempt on the Monroe Doctrine.

Other motives are, however, confessed by some French authorities, though all have constantly held that the Mexican enterprise was something of an errand of kindness. For instance:

Napoleon wished to oppose to the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race in America, as in Europe, a formidable union of Latin peoples; he began to see the need of an expedition from abroad to assist the realization of these policies. . . .

Also the French Government was brought to conceive the grandiose idea, that if she should succeed, she would be in conformity with the voices of the Mexican people—to make of Mexico otherwise a French colony, or at least, a kind of French protectorate.¹⁰

The Emperor had discerned all that the Monroe Doctrine contained of anti-Europeanism. He had seen that the declaration of the fifth President of the United States was nothing else than a declaration of war on the Old World, and he wished to show America that Europe had taken up the challenge. . . .

Napoleon was a dreamer. . . . He had adopted the principle of nationalities in his European policy. . . . He wished a federation of Latin races opposed to the federation of Anglo-Saxon peoples.¹¹

Napoleon himself stated his motives in continuing his aggression in Mexico in a letter, dated July 3, 1863, to General Forey, commanding the French troops in Mexico. Among other things, he said:

Thus, France has extended her beneficent influence into the center of America. . . . It is, in fine, military honor, political exigencies,

⁹ Petin, *op. cit.*, pp. 166, 175.

¹⁰ Beaumarchais, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

¹¹ Petin, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

industrial and commercial interests, which have imposed the obligation of marching on the capital of Mexico.¹²

According to French writers, Napoleon III was originally not alone in his intentions to flout the Monroe Doctrine and set up a new régime in Mexico. To quote:

That which they did not write into the treaty (the London Convention) they mutually said, however, in their despatches and exchanges of views, which was that they hoped that the presence of the allied forces would inspire the sane part of the (Mexican) nation to set up those institutions most conducive to the reëstablishment in the country of the order and security needed. . . . They believed that the . . . country would never be pacified in a definite fashion except by an authority more firm and stable than that of divers presidents, who deposed each other time after time every two or three years. In consequence, they would see with pleasure the adoption by Mexico of a monarchical constitution and would give her for a sovereign any prince belonging to the ruling families of Europe.¹³

This desire for intervention, however, is partly justified by the statement that,

This desire for intervention was in a certain measure warranted by the anarchical condition in Mexico, which in 40 years had had 73 presidents and had modified its form of government 36 times.¹⁴

Article 4 of the Convention of 1861 provided for inviting the United States to join in the Mexican affair. Secretary of State Seward refused the joint invitation on the ground of United States traditional policy and sympathy for Mexico. In this connection, Petin remarks:

That reflection of the Secretary of State was clearly useless; every one knows, since the war that they have waged against Mexico, that they eagerly desire its annexation.¹⁵

¹² Cepedes, *La Doctrina de Monroe*, p. 278 f.; cf. also, Antokoletz, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-3.

¹³ Barral-Montferrat, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹⁴ Beaumarchais, *op. cit.*, p. 80, note.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 180.

The French thought the United States would have bitterly opposed any project of reparation whatever, had not its hands been tied by war, pointing out that this country had strongly protested to Spain in 1858 when that country was meditating single action against Mexico. The statement of the United States government to the contrary apparently was not convincing.¹⁶

As a final answer to the invitation of the powers, Seward said on December 4, 1861:

It is true that the United States have on their part claims against Mexico. Meanwhile, after mature reflection, the President is convinced that it would be inopportune at the moment to actually seek to obtain satisfaction by adhering to the Convention. Among the reasons which have led to this decision are these: In the first place, the United States prefer, as far as is practicable, to hold to the traditional policy which has been their legacy from the father of their country; a policy of which experience has shown the happy effects, and which keeps them from forming alliances with foreign nations. In the second place, Mexico is a neighbor of the United States; her system of government resembles ours in many respects. The United States, then, have naturally benevolent sentiments for that Republic, and are interested in her security, her prosperity and her welfare".¹⁷

In addition to a refusal to sign, the United States attempted to relieve the pressure by backing Mexico financially, proposing to guarantee the interest on the Mexican debt. This was rejected by the European alliance. "The claims of European countries were too strong to be satisfied by guarantees."¹⁸

But before the occupation of Mexico had begun, the government of France had decided to overturn that of Mexico. A future Mexican prince, Archduke Maximilian of Austria, had even been chosen, who was deemed acceptable to England and Spain as he was to France.¹⁹ The French persuaded themselves that they were acting in as unselfish a manner as when in 1829,

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

¹⁷ Henry Wheaton, *Elements of International Law*, p. 349.

¹⁸ Beaumarchais, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Petin, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

¹⁹ Barral-Montferrat, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-4; Petin, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

France, England, and Russia had helped to liberate Greece and had placed on the new throne a prince from a country not participating. The only concession to be made to American traditions was indicated by an intimate friend of Napoleon's, Michel Chevalier, who remarked in 1862:

For a republic which is nominal and derisive, there will be substituted a monarchical system, but a monarchy perfectly independent, and as liberal as possible.²⁰

Following the withdrawal of England and Spain from the Mexican project, the work of the French went merrily on. The French government alternately complained of the "desertion" of its allies and asked for their moral support. This desertion was not prompted entirely by the satisfaction of their claims in Mexico, and certainly not by sympathy with the views of the United States. England had commercial interests which it conceived would be advanced by withdrawing from the affair. Spain turned its attention to the reconquest of Santo Domingo, which was as much a violation of the Monroe Doctrine as the Mexican venture itself. Ignoring an emphatic protest from the United States, the Spanish officially proclaimed Santo Domingo "reannexed", though the attempt to hold the island in subjection proved too much and the project was entirely abandoned in 1865 with the partial recovery of the American Union.²¹

Meanwhile, the French under General Forey had entered Mexico City on June 10, 1863. By decree a provisional government was established, consisting of 35 notables. These named a triumvirate of Mexican citizens, charged with the exercise of executive powers, to convoke an assembly of 205 notables, who should decide the future of the Mexican government.²²

The Assembly which had these powers represented only a small part of the entire nation. However, it drew up a constitu-

²⁰ M. Chevalier, *L'Expedition europeenne au Mexique*, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Apr. 1, 1862, p. 514. Cf. also the article by Mazade, "La Guerre de Mexique et les puissances europeennes", in the same journal for August 1, 1862.

²¹ Cf. A. B. Hart, *The Monroe Doctrine, An Interpretation*, p. 151.

²² Petin, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

tion providing for a limited monarchy, and designated Maximilian of Austria as Emperor. This arrangement was validated by a plebiscite, held under the auspices of the French army.²³

Maximilian, believing himself regularly chosen, reluctantly accepted the position. He arrived in Mexico City, June 12, 1864, and was immediately recognized by most of the European powers. At the same time, a convention was signed whereby the expenses of the French expedition were to be paid by the new monarchy; and arrangements were made for the temporary establishment in Mexico of 25,000 French troops, 8,000 of whom were to remain permanently.²⁴ Thus was inaugurated the new government which was to have been "perfectly independent, and as liberal as possible".

At no time was there any doubt in French minds as to the violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

The Treaty of London had violated the Monroe Doctrine. If a monarchy were set up under a European prince, it would be still more menacing. To remove that danger, the United States should have subscribed to the Treaty of London, and abandoned, as in 1850 (in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty), the principles of their foreign policy and practice with the Powers. They would then have the right to intervene and collect their own damages.²⁵

That the French may have been acting under some serious misconceptions in undertaking the Mexican project in the belief that they might secure the consent, if not the aid, of the Confederate States, appears from historical comment later.

The North was of the Anglo-Saxon race, which was accustomed through its origin to liberty. It was Protestant in religion, largely Puritan. For the development of industries, it had adopted a protective tariff. The population of the South, on the contrary, had the traditions of autocracy. They were partly Catholic, and belonged to the Latin race. Moreover, the South was a country of great culture, and

²³ Barral-Montferrat, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Beaumarchais, *op. cit.*, p. 179; Petin, *op. cit.*, 188; Wheaton, *op. cit.*, II, 362.

²⁴ Petin, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-90.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 180. Cf. Antokoletz, p. 40.

was anxious to exchange cotton for European goods. It was, in consequence, wedded to free trade.²⁶

The delusion that the people of the south were Latin in sympathy, at least, was rudely terminated when the Confederate government was approached on the subject of a Franco-Confederate alliance against the North. This suggestion was summarily dismissed. A little later the United States government intercepted a letter which Benjamin, Secretary of State for the Confederacy, had addressed to Mr. Slidell, Confederate agent at Paris. In this letter, Benjamin showed the intrigues of the French government in Texas for keeping it from the Confederacy. The proofs for it were sufficient to have the French consul expelled from Galveston. Not only did the Emperor Napoleon have the design of retaining Mexico as a colony, but he desired to see a buffer state of little strength separate his new colony from the Confederate States.²⁷

In the mean time, the government at Washington was unable to cope effectually with these events. Diplomatic protests were made on several occasions, but care was taken not to offend France seriously. It was necessarily assumed that the French were acting in good faith. The United States did not deny that France was justified in recovering satisfaction for losses. Secretary Cass is quoted as saying in September, 1860:

We do not deny to any European Power the right to take measures against Mexico for the reparation of damage caused. The Monroe Doctrine, altogether opposing the taking possession of any part of that country, is not opposed to the waging of hostile operations against that Republic for the satisfaction of certain substantial losses of which she has been the occasion.²⁸

And Secretary Seward wrote in June, 1863:

France has the right to make war against Mexico and to arrange such affairs herself. We have the right and the interest to insist that France

²⁶ Barral-Montferrat, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

²⁷ Thomas J. Lawrence, *Principles of International Law*, II. 359 f. Cf. also, Beaumarchais, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

²⁸ Quoted in Antokoletz, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

shall not profit by the war which she makes to establish in Mexico a government anti-Republican and anti-American, or for maintaining there any such government. . . .²⁹

The United States consequently refused to recognize the Mexican Empire, and declared,

that the people of the United States have the firm conviction that progress is not possible in that part of the world except by means of political institutions identical with those of the states of the American continent,

and that the French-established monarchy was dangerous to the peace and happiness of the United States, as well as to its republican institutions.³⁰

The French government did not interpret this as official resistance and continued its aggression. But in the same year, 1863, the Confederates were defeated at Gettysburg and at Vicksburg, and Federal authority was reestablished in many of the states. Thereupon the North reaffirmed the principles of American tradition, and on April 4, 1864, the House of Representatives adopted this resolution:

The Congress of the United States does not by its silence intend to give the nations of the world the idea that it remains an indifferent spectator to the deplorable events which have actually taken place in Mexico. It deems it timely to declare that it is not suitable that the United States recognize a monarchical government, erected upon the ruins of a republican government in America, under the auspices of any European Power whatever.³¹

This resolution also was not taken seriously by the Napoleonic government, because consideration of it was postponed by the Senate. The *Moniteur* said,

It is known, moreover, that the Senate has indefinitely postponed consideration of that resolution, to which, in any case, the executive power would not give its consent.³²

²⁹ Quoted in Beaumarchais, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

³⁰ Antokoletz, p. 44.

³¹ Lawrence, *op. cit.*, II. 365.

³² *Archives Diplomatiques*, 1864, III. 78.

With the approaching end of the Civil War, the United States recompensed Juárez for his indomitable tenacity by recognizing his government, and in sending him arms and money, and the Senate ordained that correspondence to American consuls in Mexico should bear the insignia of the Mexican Republic. The surrender of the southern armies caused a veritable stupor among the Mexican imperialists. The world waited to see the United States act, and on May 22, 1865, Seward wrote to the American minister at Paris that attention would be immediately given to the matter of French status in Mexico.³³ This statement was followed by another on December 6, to the French minister at Washington, which clearly indicated the change in American attitude with the close of the war.³⁴

The French government feigned not to understand the disguised menace in this note. It reiterated the free choice of Maximilian by the Mexican people, and tried to show that the United States was the real obstacle to Mexican freedom of action.³⁵ This was answered by the demand that French troops be recalled. There ensued a bitter controversy over the terms of evacuation, paralleled by unprincipled violence by both belligerents in Mexico. Finally, in the face of the most determined French opposition, Napoleon took steps to recall his forces, laying all the blame for the excesses in Mexico at the door of Maximilian. He no longer thought he had the same interest as three years earlier in making sacrifices to insure the Mexican crown to an Austrian prince. On January 22, 1866, Napoleon told the French chambers that "the only real object of the Powers had been to enforce the execution of the obligations contracted by that State (Mexico)".³⁶ This disinterested attitude found many incredulous, even in France. In December, 1866, Napoleon renounced a monarchical government and accepted a republic in Mexico, on the condition that the United States would maintain the government thus established. The

³³ Beaumarchais, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

³⁴ *Archives Diplomatiques*, 1866, I. 394.

³⁵ Cf. the article by Keratry, "Le Mexique et les chances de salut du nouvel empire", in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, September 15, 1866.

³⁶ Petin, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

last French troops were withdrawn March 13, 1867. Maximilian and his crumbling empire were left to their fate, and both soon perished.

A great discontent flamed up in France because of the hostile attitude of the United States and the ruinous expense of the expedition. This fiasco may be said to be at the bottom of the consistent opposition displayed by the French on subsequent occasions when the Doctrine was invoked, whether they were directly concerned or not. This attitude is well illustrated by the following quotation from the work of a recent French writer:

The Monroe Doctrine triumphed. The United States were going to place upon all independent America their heavy and arrogant hegemony. They were going to take the advantage for themselves of the deformed doctrine of 1823, for extorting, not more influence, but the sovereignty of Europe from her choicest colonies.³⁷

The historian Beaumarchais says that with the Mexican episode the United States reached the parting of the ways. Before this time the American policy had been "America for Americans"; afterward it was "America for the United States"³⁸; while Petin sums up the Doctrine under Roosevelt and his successors as "The world and America for the United States!"³⁹

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³⁷ Barral-Montferrat, *De Monroe à Roosevelt, 1823-1905*, p. 100. Cf. in this connection, Lawrence, *op. cit.*, II. 361; and an article by Barclay in *Revue de Droit Internationale*, for June 2, 1866, 516 ff.

³⁸ *La Doctrine de Monroe*, p. 91.

³⁹ *Les États-Unis et la Doctrine de Monroe*, p. 445.

THE LIBERATION AND THE LIBERATORS OF SPANISH AMERICA

To understand something of that period of Spanish American history which is suggested by the subject of this paper, it will be necessary to journey back into the past some three hundred years and prepare a proper setting. We must turn back the scroll of history to that century of ocean chivalry in which bold buccaneers and care-free *conquistadores* sailed the Spanish Main and dared the cold and storm-tossed waters of far-off Cape Horn in order to unfurl on unknown shores the banners of their King. It was then that men followed the trail of the setting sun across the heaving bosom of untravelled seas in search of "El Dorado", the Golden Man,—of the mysterious regions of the far West.

It was an age in which the veins of men ran red wine and a mere handful of chosen spirits sufficed for the overthrow of a kingdom or for the subversion of an empire. Five hundred and fifty-three Spanish soldiers, with but fifteen muskets and thirty-two arquebuses among them, under Hernan Cortés overturned the mighty empire of Montezuma; and one hundred and sixty-four men of the same stern mold as the Spanish swineherd, Francisco Pizarro, enabled him to wrest from the vacillating hands of Atahualpa the sceptre over lands which the Inca chieftains had long ruled in utter disdain of those below them.

Balboa, Almagro, Cortés, Pizarro, and Valdivia were but the advance guard of a host of equally hardened and daring adventurers and, almost before the rest of the world had time to realize the trend of events, the colors of the king of Spain had been flung to the breeze from Cape Horn to the straits of Behring and the burdened galleons reeled homeward laden to the scuppers with the spoils of ruined and conquered empires.

But Spanish soldiers and Spanish priests remained behind to organize and hold the conquered dominions in the name of their

king and pope. The history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Spanish America is the history of the establishing of the power of Spain along ten thousand miles of a surf-swept coast, practically from British Colombia to the Southern extremity of the continent, and from the Río de la Plata and the plains of Patagonia to the mouths of the Orinoco and Cape Gallinas.

Save for the territory of Brazil, which was a colony of Portugal, Spain ruled with undisputed authority in the southern half of the continent and disputed with other nations the hegemony of other lands to the north, even to the frozen shores of Behring.

For the purpose of governing and, in particular, of exploiting these rich territories, the dominions of the Spanish crown were divided into four viceroyalties, each governed by a viceroy appointed by the king.

The viceroyalty of Nueva España included the ancient Aztec empire, which embraced all territory from the southern borders of the present republic of Costa Rica to Florida; the republic of Mexico; the states of Texas, Nevada, Arizona, and California; the West Indies, and the Spanish East Indies.

That of Nueva Granada included the present republics of Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Panamá.

The viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata was formed by the territory now included in Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and eastern Bolivia.

Peru, which was the most important of the viceroyalties, since it was the richest, included what were then known as Upper and Lower Peru,—now the republics of Peru and Bolivia—and the cold lands that stretched off to the south and were known as Chile.

All these colonies or viceroyalties were considered the personal property of the Spanish monarch, but the local or civil government was entrusted to the Council of the Indies which had its seat in the West Indies, at Habana, and which made the laws for the mainland. This council was the supreme judicial court of Spanish America and the East Indies. Of it, Bancroft, the American historian says:

Its jurisdiction extended to every department, civil, ecclesiastical and commercial, with particular attention to the welfare of the Indians, and, with the existing laws of Spain for guidance in forming *cedulas*, together with the royal decrees, formed the laws of Spanish America. By it viceroys and governors were made and unmade, also patriarchs and bishops, and even the pope had to submit to it for approval his bulls and briefs concerning the Indies.

The council was subject only to the sovereign, who conferred with the Council of Castile before sending to it his decrees. The representative of the council was the viceroy and, in practice, he often arrogated to himself powers that were not nominated in the bond. In each of the viceroyalties, the bounds of authority were ill-defined and this looseness and lack of cohesion, from the very beginning, gave rise to dissensions that boded ill for the continuance of Spanish power in America.

The great extent of the country, the want of moral cohesion, the admixture of races, the general corruption of manners, the absence of a common ideal, the lack of political and industrial activity, and the profound ignorance of the masses, all contributed to produce a state of semi-barbarism by the side of a weakly civilization and vitiated the entire social system. From this embryo was to spring a new republican world, the product of the germs latent within it.

As a former President of the Argentine Federation has expressed it in his description of the evolution of the Spanish-American republics:

The genii that surrounded the cradle of Washington were not the same that presided over the advent of the South American republics. The proud conquerors in iron mail who trod this part of America, with rare notions of liberty and right, with absolute faith in the effect of brute force and violence, were very different from those Puritans who disembarked at Plymouth with no arms but the Gospel, no other ambition than that of founding a new community under the law of love and equality. Hence, the Latin republics stand in need of greater perseverance, judgment, and energy to wash out their original stain and to assimilate virtues which they did not inherit.

Not only was the viceroyalty of Peru the most important of the four, because of its local wealth and prestige, but, in practice, it may be said to have ruled all Spanish America. In all things the viceroy was supreme. He was the presiding officer of the Audiencia that represented the authority of the monarch, the superintendent of finances, the protector of the Church, and the official head of the army.

The only organization through which the people might be heard was the *Cabildo*, or *Ayuntamiento*—a kind of municipal council—the members of which, in theory, at least, were elected by a free vote of the people. But all powers were subordinate to that of the viceroy who lived as befitted the representative of one of the greatest kings of his day.

García Calderón, the Peruvian historian, says of that official:

A luxurious court surrounded him, the flattery of courtiers intoxicated him and subornation had its sway with him. Sometimes the viceroys represented the real aspirations of the people and were serious legislators—such as Francisco de Toledo, in Peru. Or, they defended the colonists from the filibustering expeditions with such an energy that fiercely contested battles evoked the sentiment of nationality. At other times they enriched themselves by the sale of posts and drained the treasury, or passed through their states like haughty overlords, surrounded by luxury and gold.

The viceroy, as the representative of the king, interested himself particularly in the material progress of the territory over which he ruled. He was ably assisted by the representatives of the pope, who had charge of the ecclesiastical branch of the government of the colonies. It was quite in accord with the spirit of the time that the ecclesiastical censorship of all publications was transferred to America, and that immense power was given into the hands of the religious and other ecclesiastics. The principal branch of the Inquisition in the New World was established in Lima, the center of the power of the Church in America. There it did service for almost two centuries and a half, from 1570 until its suppression in 1813. During that time, to quote Ricardo Palma, the famous historian and librarian of Peru,

sixty-eight persons were burned and four hundred and fifty-eight others suffered excommunication, exile, or loss of property. Of those burned, fifty-nine were burned alive, while nine had their bones disinterred and burned in the public square.

Such was the condition of the Spanish colonies at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The monarchic idea was supreme and was rigidly enforced by viceroys and papal delegates. The people had no rights. The only authority recognized was the *de facto* government, and intolerance was the watchword of that government. But, in many places, the fires of revolution burned and smoldered, and needed but the quickening of a sudden breeze to be fanned into a continent-wide conflagration. The seeds of liberty which had been dropped into the hearts of men, in ways and at times unknown to their rulers, were taking deep root and in due time blossomed into that group of nineteen republics that today occupy the territory that belonged to Spain.

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

No doubt the underlying fundamental cause of the uprising against the power of Spain in the New World was the unusual, almost inexplicable, movement away from all things monarchical and toward republicanism that manifested itself in Europe and America at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth. When this movement first made itself felt among the colonists of North America, there was but one republic in the world—that of Switzerland—excepting, of course, the un-important communities of Andorra and San Marino, which, under the name of republics, have existed for centuries but whose influence does not extend beyond their own very limited borders.

But the brief tenure of power by the Commonwealth in England in the seventeenth century had been sufficient to instil into the British heart a desire for liberty that had its full fruition only in the latter part of the following century. It was at that time that the English colonists of North America ex-

pressed their belief that "the inalienable rights of Englishmen had been violated" and, in defense of those rights (in no country more widely and thoroughly respected today than in Great Britain itself), declared themselves to be a free and independent people. This was at the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Before the end of that century, the spirit of revolution had recrossed the wide Atlantic, and had swept Louis and his queen from their throne and into the arms of "Madame la Guillotine", thus paving the way for the coming of the little Corsican who was to overshadow all Europe and make his influence felt even to the furthest corners of the American colonies of Spain and Portugal.

The colonies of the Iberian nations felt, in particular, the power of Napoleon. The Portuguese court fled to Brazil and, soon after its return to Europe, that colony, having experienced the thrill of liberty which had begun to sweep the continent, declared itself independent of the mother country and set up an independent empire that lasted until, by a bloodless revolution which ended in the voluntary abdication of Dom Pedro II., in 1889, the present republic of Brazil was established.

The seating of Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of the Bourbons, in 1807, proved two things to the expectant colonies. The first was the debility of the mother country and, in particular, of the reigning monarchy which had so weakly capitulated to the threats and insinuations of Napoleon, and the second was the unwelcome fact that they might, in the succession of events, suddenly find themselves subject to another ruler even more despotic than Charles IV., who had so servilely relinquished his throne, or Ferdinand, the son and heir, who, in a state of seemingly complete ineptitude, had done nothing to avenge the *coup d'état* of Napoleon. The sudden and unexpected overthrow of the Spanish power in the Iberian Peninsula was but the precursor, the occasion, of the deathblow to that power in *ultramar*. From Neuva España to Cape Horn the colonies were atremble with expectation, and the doctrine that, with the disappearance of the monarch, his sovereignty reverts to the people, was boldly and eagerly proclaimed.

Starting from this point, it was easy to arrive at the conclusion that the people had a right to appoint *juntas* or local councils for their own security and that the colonists owed no allegiance to the government constituted in Madrid at the time of the French revolution, through the abdication of the king of the house of Bourbon. This doctrine was earnestly accepted, in particular, by those of the colonists who were of mixed blood; was the immediate cause of friction between these creoles and the people of pure Spanish race; and may be said to have been the cause of igniting the smoldering brands of the revolution.

The Spaniard still held loyally to the home government, although it was in eclipse for a time, while the creoles, born in the country and of only one half or even less pure Spanish blood, had little or no interest in, or affection for, the Spanish throne and frankly aspired to independent government. General Bartolomé Mitre has said:

When the revolution broke out in 1810, it was said that South America would become English or French. When the revolution triumphed, it was said that the continent would relapse into barbarism. By the will and work of the creole, it became American, republican, and civilized.

Consequently, it is well to note that it was through the efforts of the creole or half-breed population that Spanish America was finally able to shake off the fetters of the monarchical form of government and become independent.

The *gaucho*, who may be called the modern centaur, from the plains of Argentina, with the fatality of the Arab and the dash and impetuosity of the Cossack, gave a peculiar type to the revolution which distinguished it from La Plata to Chimborazo. The *llaneros*, or plainsmen from the reaches of the Amazon and the Orinoco, formed the famous flying squadrons of the north whose feats of daring were celebrated from Cape San Roque to Potosí. The Chilean *roto*, or ragged fellow, whose stolid Araucanian blood had been quickened by a generous dash of the sparkling vintage of sunny Spain joined the Argentine *cuyano* in the formation of fighting battalions that easily put to rout the trained soldiers of the Spanish lines who, but a short time before, had hurled from the peninsula the veteran troops of Napoleon.

FIRST ACTS OF THE REVOLUTION

One of the first acts of the revolution was the overthrow of constituted authority in Quito, now the capital of Ecuador but then a city of Colombia, and the naming of a new council which at once levied troops for its defense. The peoples of America were exhorted to follow the lead thus set and the announcement was made that "*Law has resumed authority under the Equator and the rights of men are, by the disappearance of despotism, no longer at the mercy of arbitrary power*".

In May, 1909, a new government was proclaimed in Upper Peru, and in July of the same year La Paz followed the example thus set. These local revolts were soon put down and the leaders died on the scaffold, with all the refinements of cruelty of which that age was capable, or on the field of battle fighting in defense of their ideals. One of those who perished on the gallows exclaimed as he went to his death, "*I have lighted a fire which shall never be quenched.*" His words were true. Before the heads and limbs of these early aspirants for liberty had rotted on the posts of the highways, to which they had been nailed as a warning to others, the fires of revolution were found to be burning in various centers of New Granada and Peru. And, although the movement was again suppressed, it was to cover the fire with ashes which but served to conserve the heat. Within a year, all the Spanish colonies, with a spontaneous unanimity that astounded the world, rose in rebellion against the government in Madrid as represented by the local viceroys.

Beginning at the furthestmost limits of the far-flung line of Spanish dominion, one outpost after another gave the cry of liberty and it was but a matter of days until the swelling chorus reached the very centers of the power of the viceroys who must have trembled as they realized that the expected movement for the liberation of a continent had begun and that the enthusiastic shouts of the populace against an effete monarchy were their own death sentence. So united, so unanimous was the sentiment for liberty, so intimately did the movement satisfy the deepest and most sacred aspirations of the people, that it may be said that it had gained its end even before the first gun had been fired.

THE LIBERATORS OF SPANISH AMERICA

The story of the battles fought and of the varied and complex movements in this struggle for liberty in Spanish America can not be entered into in detail in this short sketch. Probably no better understanding of that struggle of a continent in demand of civil liberty could be given in short compass, than in an outline of the life and work of the leading spirits who took part in the revolution and led it to a successful conclusion. A great galaxy of stars appeared in the political firmament of the southern half of the western continent at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Some few were of unusual brightness, some were relatively dim, and others were almost lost in the surrounding gloom. But each of them contributed some little ray of light toward dispelling the darkness that had settled down over the colonies.

Belgrano and San Martín, in Argentina; Francia, in Paraguay; Artigas, in the Banda Oriental del Uruguay; Hidalgo and Iturbide, in Mexico; Morazán, in Central America; Carrera, O'Higgins, and Cochrane, in Chile; Dom Pedro I., in Brazil; Simón Bolívar, a Venezuelan by birth but the liberator of five republics: these were the best known of the liberators and each in his way and within his own sphere of influence aided in the liberation of his own and other territories from the power of monarchy across the seas. Of all these political luminaries, only two may be considered as of the first magnitude, namely, José de San Martín, born at Yapeyú, in Argentina, February 25, 1778, and Simón Bolívar, born in Caracas, Venezuela. July 14, 1783.

Coming from almost the two extremes of the dominions of the king of Spain in the New World, fighting for a common cause through twelve years of unusual vicissitudes and difficulties, gradually converging with their forces toward a common point in the strategy of war, these two heroes in the American conflict met but once. Under the equator, with the wide Pacific rolling to the west and the high Andes piled in snowy peaks to the east, at the moment of their greatest common triumph, these two statesmen-warriors met in the little port of Guayaquil. A first and last embrace was given, a few hurried hours of consulta-

tion snatched from the busy scenes that held them, and then they went their separate ways. One quietly embarked on his waiting ship and in the darkness of the night turned its prow toward his voluntary exile. The other as quietly and undemonstratively stepped into his place, the curtain was rung up once more and the play went on to the end. For twenty-five years no other person knew what subjects had been discussed by these sphinx-like men in their few hours of discussion, and no one even today, knows the full extent of the resolutions taken, nor the decisions made, that were so full of import for Spanish America.

Of these two men, San Martín and Bolívar, it is necessary that we should speak in greater detail, not only to gain a more exact knowledge of them, but, also, of the work and the movement which they, to an unusual degree, represented in their persons and in their official positions.

JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN

Born in the viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, the son of the lieutenant-governor of the province of Yapeyú, José de San Martín was accustomed to martial life and scenes from his earliest childhood. At eight years of age he was taken to Madrid and placed in the seminary of Nobles. But, before he had completed twelve years, he was entered as a cadet in the Military School and soon after received his baptism of fire in a campaign against the Moors, in Africa. He then took part in a war against the French and, on the conclusion of a treaty between the two countries, joined the Spanish navy and fought against Great Britain. He was soon found enrolled in one of the peninsular wars, in which Spain was engaged against Portugal, and finally fought on the side of Spain in the conflict with Napoleon.

It was about this time that he came into contact with the "Society of Lautaro", or the "Society of Rational Men", as it was called. The branch in Spain was affiliated with the central Society in London which had been founded by Francisco Miranda. The special object of the societies established by Miranda was the independence of the American colonies and every attempt was made, though in secret, as the order required,

to enlist sympathy and members for the cause. Each member was obliged to recognize "no government in America as legitimate unless it was elected by the free and spontaneous will of the people, and to work for the foundation of the republican system". The declared object of the organization was

To work systematically for the independence and happiness of America, proceeding with honor and justice. . . . Membership was limited exclusively to men of American birth. By its constitution, if any member of the brotherhood was elected supreme ruler of a state, he could take no important step without consulting the lodge. He could not appoint a diplomatic agent, general-in-chief, governor of a province, judge of an upper court, high church dignitary, nor general officers, and could not punish any member of the brotherhood by his own authority. It was law of the society that all members should mutually assist each other in all the exigencies of civil life, that at the risk of life they should uphold the decrees of the lodge, and that they should inform it of anything which could influence public opinion or affect the public security. . . .

A careful study of the acts of San Martín, in his after years, especially in his relations with his brother officers, shows the result of this affiliation. More than once he was compelled to forego just punishment of officers who were serving under him, and his own plans had to be approved by these same men before they could be put into execution.

It was during the last years that San Martín spent in Europe that he offered his services to Great Britain against the common foe, Napoleon. He had now won distinction on many a hard-fought battlefield, had served under some of the most distinguished generals of his time, and had reached that point in his career when he was considered the equal of any of his brother officers in daring and the superior of them all in strategy.

At this juncture, with the slow facilities of the age, word of the recent uprisings in the Spanish colonies reached the Old World and set aflame the martial spirits of the many seasoned officers and soldiers of the colonies who were serving in the armies of Europe. San Martín was an American by birth, by instinct a revolutionist, an ardent republican by education and training, and at once decided to return to Argentina, his native country.

Early in 1812, with a number of other officers, he embarked in London for Buenos Aires and, having reached the scene of the conflict at just the time when serious fighting had begun, he offered his services to the leaders of the revolution. He was immediately confirmed in his rank of Lieutenant-colonel of cavalry and at once began what was to be the great work of his life—the liberation of the Spanish colonies from the rule of the mother country.

In this paper it will be possible to give only the most meagre details of his notable career in the tremendous conflict that was just beginning. It has been said that he was not a man, but a mission, so great was his influence on the destinies of humanity. General Mitre says of him:

He was at once the arm and the head of the Argentine hegemony. He combined the evolutions of armies with those of nations, marking each evolution with some achievement either political or military, obtained great results with the least possible means and without waste of strength, and showed how a people may be redeemed without being oppressed. His character is even yet an historical enigma. . . . The moral grandeur of San Martín consists in this: that nothing is known of the secret ambitions of his life, that he was in everything disinterested, that he confined himself strictly to his mission, and that he died in silence, showing neither weakness, pride, nor bitterness at seeing his work triumphant and his part in it forgotten.

Having enlisted in the army of the patriots, he at once took high standing among his fellow officers and in the estimation of the common soldier. He organized the famous *gaucho* regiments into flying squadrons of the most effective cavalry, and was soon ready to put to a test that master stroke in military strategy which changed the destinies of the New World and definitely assigned to San Martín a high place among the greatest strategists of whom there is a record in history. His plan in his own words was as follows:

To cross into Chile with a small well-disciplined army and, finishing off the Goths (Spaniards) who may be found in that country, put an end to anarchy, and then, uniting our forces with the patriot forces of Chile, go by sea to Lima. This is our course. There can be no other.

To understand the audacity of this plan, which, at first reading, may seem simple, especially in view of modern means and methods of mobilization, it must be remembered that the only passes of the Andes that give access to Chile, save in the far south, are from nine to twelve thousand feet above the sea, and that these passes are open only in the summer months.

No one in the royalist army in Chile believed that any attempt would be made to enter the country through the mountains, even during the most favorable months of the year, and all rumors of the invasion planned by San Martín were considered as subjects fit only for ridicule. The passes in many places are so narrow that only one soldier or one animal may advance at a time, there was no food nor forage available, and, in addition, the passes were held by hostile Indians in the pay of the royalists. These Indians, however, were won over by San Martín, who invited them to a great feast in the heights above Mendoza, and under the new influence they quickly and fully divulged the secrets of the royalists. They were led to believe that the Spaniards who held Chile were enemies of the red man and that the patriot armies had come to liberate the native races and restore to them their conquered territories.

But, understanding the treacherous nature of the Indian, San Martín did not reveal to them his own plans. They were led to believe that he expected to enter Chile through the low passes of the far south, and a part of his army did, in fact, choose the southern route, since as many as six passes were employed in the advance on Chile, the two most widely separated being thirteen hundred miles apart. His real plan, however, was to send the main division of his army through the Uspallata Pass, which leads into the Aconcagua valley, while the reserves crossed with him through the pass of Los Patos, which opens into the valley of the Putaendo, and under the command of General Bernardo O'Higgins. The former and shorter of these two passes lies to the south of snow-capped Aconcagua, which towers 23,096 feet above the sea, and is now used by the Transandean railway, while the other is on the northern flank of this mountain.

Having reached Chile by these two passes, his plan was to

unite his forces and strike for the capital. His army consisted of 3,000 infantry, 250 artillery, and 1,200 cavalry. These troops were well equipped and understood the serious work ahead of them. Food and forage were accumulated for the march and, with almost the precision of a machine, the two divisions crossed the divide as planned, drove back the scattered and startled royalists, and finally debouched into the plains on the western side of the mountain wall. In spite of the terrible cold and the indescribable sufferings from snow blindness, hunger, and thirst, only a small number of men and animals had been lost, and the troops reached Chile ready for action.

General Bartolomé Mitre, the Argentine historian, already quoted in this paper, thus describes this daring feat of San Martín and assigns it a high place in the history of military strategy:

The passage of the Andes by San Martín was a feat requiring greater strategy and skill than the passage of the Alps by Napoleon or Hannibal. It was not until Bolívar repeated the exploit on the equator that the feat was equalled. If compared with the former exploits of Hannibal and Napoleon, it is seen to be a much greater achievement than either of them, from its effects on the human race.

In place of vengeance, greed, or ambition, San Martín was animated by the hope of giving liberty and independence to a new world. The passage of the Andes by Bolívar resulted in the battle of Boyacá; the passage by San Martín in the battle of Maipó. These were two decisive victories which liberated entire peoples from the slavery of foreign despotism. The passage of the Alps by Hannibal and Napoleon resulted only in the sterile victories of Trebia and Marengo.

Soon after entering Chile, near the junction of the Aconcagua and Putaendo rivers, the army of the Andes fell like a thunderbolt on the Spanish forces, the battle of the heights of Chacabuco was fought, and the resulting patriot victory opened the road to the capital. This was entered in triumph on the 13th of August, 1817, and a proclamation was issued convoking the electors for the appointment of a governor general. The first vote gave this position to San Martín, but he refused to consider it since he

felt that his work in the field was not yet done and that he should carry out his original plan and proceed to the liberation of the viceroyalties of the north. The second vote gave the position of supreme Director of Chile to Bernardo O'Higgins, which was according to the wish of San Martín.

It might seem that the conquest of Chile by the patriot armies had now been completed. But the royalist forces had merely been scattered, through an inexplicable failure on the part of San Martín to follow up his victory, and the complete subjugation of the country cost four more years of almost continual fighting. However, the battle of Maipó, less than two months subsequent to the battle of Chacabuco, had crushed the hopes of the royalists and practically destroyed their power from Mexico to the Cape.

While the fighting had been going on by land, the first Chilean fleet had been formed and preparations were being made to carry the expeditionary forces to Peru, the strongest of the viceroyalties and the center of the power of Spain in the New World. Lord Cochrane, an ex-member of the British parliament, who had been compelled to leave his own land because of too rabid revolutionary sympathies—a brilliant, hot-tempered, ardent, patriot—had reached Chile and at once took over the command of the newly formed fleet. Blanco Encalada, the Chilean admiral, in order that the Britisher might hold the highest position, generously resigned his own commission and served under Cochrane.

San Martín, after seeing a stable government constituted and after due consultation with his brother officers, recrossed the mountains and returned to Buenos Aires for the purpose of recruiting forces for the expedition to Peru. He had accepted the rank of Brigadier-General in the Chilean Army and, having completed his mission in the capital of Argentina, made his final preparations for the last and greatest period of his life. The way to the north had, by this time, been opened by Cochrane and Blanco Encalada, but there arose new and unforeseen difficulties which had to be overcome before the expedition could set out. Among other troubles, he heard of the mutiny of some of his best troops in Argentina, and was even compelled

to witness the breaking up of that confederation into a number of small fragments, each intent on forming itself into a republic with an aspiring chieftain at its head. Personal illness overtook him and he had to be carried about among his troops in a litter. There were also dissensions on the sea where the ambitious Cochrane aspired to the leadership of the expeditionary army, and even among his most trusted officers. Yet, with an infinite patience, these difficulties were met and overcome and the fleet set sail for Peru with San Martín on board as commander in chief of the expedition. On the eve of sailing he addressed a proclamation to his soldiers in which he said:

Whatever may be my lot in Peru, I shall prove that since my return to my native land her independence has occupied my every thought, and that I have never had any other ambition than to merit the hatred of the ungrateful and the esteem of the virtuous.

The expedition sailed from Valparaiso on the 20th of August, 1820, and in a little less than a year San Martín was able to proclaim himself protector of Peru. During that year a number of engagements had been fought on land and on sea, with victory generally on the side of the patriots, and Lima, the capital of the viceroy, was entered in triumph in July, 1821. San Martín soon after wrote to O'Higgins as follows:

At last, by patience, we have compelled the enemy to abandon the capital of the Pizarro; at last, our labors are crowned by seeing the independence of America secure. Peru is free. I now see before me the end of my public life and watch how I may leave this heavy burden in safe hands, so that I may retire into some quiet corner and live as a man should live.

SIMÓN BOLÍVAR, THE VENEZUELAN

It will be well, at this point, to leave San Martín, at the moment of his great success, and turn to the north, to New Granada, and to a review of the life and work of that other great man, the complement of San Martín in the liberation of Spanish America, Simón Bolívar, the hero of Boyacá. Like his great comrade in arms, he was educated in Europe, where he

married the daughter of a fellow-countryman who was then living in France. His wife died not long after the marriage, in Venezuela, and he then returned to Europe.

It was on the occasion of this visit to the Old World that he saw Napoleon crowned king of Milan and, no doubt, formed his own opinion as to the danger to the world in the unchecked progress of that master of men across the stage of the nations. Returning to Venezuela, he retired for some time to his ancestral estates and led the life of the usual rich man of his day. In the midst of luxury and ease he seemed to the casual observer to take no interest in the gathering clouds that heralded the approaching storm, but gave himself up to ease and pleasure. But a state of anarchy was soon declared and every citizen had to declare his allegiance to the colors of Spain or take up arms against them. Now, there was no hesitation or weakness in the declarations of Bolívar. He went over, soul and body, to the cause of the patriots, although he knew that this meant the renunciation of future ease and the giving of himself to forwarding a doubtful cause and to almost certain death or exile. In a very short time he had distinguished himself among the other leaders because of his bravery and keen intellect. His personality was so attractive, there was such a complete poise and calm in his bearing, that he inspired all who met him with absolute confidence in himself and the cause which he had espoused.

He was an extremist, however, and so convinced of his own superior knowledge and skill that he found it difficult to submit to the discipline of his superior officers. His personal bravery was such that he carried all before him and soon came to be the ideal of the troops. At the head of fifteen hundred men he entered Caracas in triumph and was at once hailed as dictator. This early triumph was short-lived, however, and it was only after years of fighting and of the greatest privation and loss that Venezuela found itself definitely free from Spanish rule and Bolívar supreme and secure in his position of dictator.

Of all this infinite detail of battle, of defeat and victory, of exile and imprisonment that spelled the liberation of New

Granada, together with the triumph of Bolívar, we can not speak in this paper. But, once that important viceroyalty had been definitely liberated, Bolívar conceived the idea of crossing the Andes, as San Martín had done in the south, and proceeding to help in the final liberation of Peru and that part of Colombia which lay to the west of the high wall of the mountains. An army was prepared for the march and, after intense suffering, he found himself on the western side, with a greatly reduced force and compelled to face an enemy that was well equipped and knew thoroughly the ground over which it had to fight. By his brilliant strategy, in which he was probably the equal of San Martín, he was able to get his forces into a favorable position on the banks of the Boyacá and in a hard-fought battle completely defeated the royalist forces and definitely gave New Granada to the patriot army.

After a number of less important triumphs, by which he made his victory secure, he issued a proclamation to the people of Colombia in which he could say:

From the banks of the Orinoco to the Andes of Peru, the liberating army, marching from triumph to triumph, has covered with its protecting arms the whole of Colombia. Share with me the ocean of joy which bathes my heart and raise in your own hearts altars to this army which has conquered for you glory and peace and liberty.

The territory which is now occupied by the modern republics of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador was now free of Spanish soldiers and the army of Bolívar was ready to effect its union with that of San Martín which was advancing from the south. It has been said that history "presents no other example of so vast a military combination, carried on with steady perseverance for twelve long years, ending in the concentration of the forces of an entire continent upon one strategic point, which concentration gave the final victory".

This final triumph of San Martín and Bolívar is all the more remarkable if we remember that they could not avail themselves of telegraph, telephone, or wireless; that between them lay the almost impenetrable, even unexplored, unknown uplands of the

continent, inhabited by hostile Indians and wild beasts or garrisoned by the forces of the royalists, and the high cold wall of the Andes whose barrier was practically impassable save in the warmest months of the year, and then with great risk. The only possibility of communication was by means of messengers sent overland through these dangers, and the reception of a return message must have been, in many cases, a matter of many months, if not of years. Yet the campaign was carried on to its final conclusion and the two chieftains were now to meet, for the first time, in the port of Guayaquil, in what is now the republic of Ecuador, to discuss and decide their future plan of action. So far, all had gone well and each of them, supported by a strong and loyal army, felt secure in his own prowess and in the prestige of his triumphs. Only the final union of the conquered territories remained and this should have offered no difficulties.

It was about this time that San Martín discovered that a number of his highest officers had formed a cabal against him, the end of which was to deprive him of the command, by means of assassination should this be necessary, and, under another leader, prosecute more vigorously the campaign in Peru. Although the plan was revealed to San Martín by one of his officers who had refused to become a party to the plot, no drastic action was taken, probably because of the rules of the society already referred to which forbade any punishment in such cases save by order of the society itself. A historian of the epoch has said:

From that moment he took the definite and irrevocable determination of abandoning public life. His heart was torn by so many deceptions, treacheries, ingratitude, and vileness, and he could not bear to continue.

In the decree which he published at the time, delegating the command while he should be absent at the conference of Guayaquil, he says:

The cause of the American continent impels me to carry out a plan which I have treasured as one of my dearest hopes. I am going to meet the Liberator of Colombia, in Guayaquil. The general interests of

Peru and Colombia, the energetic termination of the war we are carrying on and the stability of that destiny which America is rapidly approaching make our interview necessary, inasmuch as the order of things has constituted us, in an unusual degree, the arbiters of the outcome of this sublime undertaking.

But there was to be an apple of discord in the final arrangements for peace and the consolidation of the conquered territories. In this case, the cause of discontent centered in Guayaquil, a great province lying along the sea, which had hesitated between accepting the authority of Bolívar or that of San Martín, but seemed inclined to favor the latter and thus become a part of the new republic of Peru. This was not in accord with the ambitions of Bolívar and, in preparing for the meeting, he took care to fill the little port with his own soldiers. The two met in the palace of the governor and after some hours of discussion and the fetes and military displays incident to such occasions, separated to meet no more.

It is the general conclusion that San Martín recognized the fiery, unrestrained character of Bolívar, his ambitions to be the head of the whole movement for the liberation of the continent, and that he was desirous of avoiding trouble. He was too high-minded to permit himself to be dragged into a personal quarrel over the liberated lands and preferred to retire from the field and leave all to his younger colleague who at the last, had proved to be his rival.

The reach of the ambitions of Bolívar may be judged from a toast given by him in a banquet which was tendered him in the city of Guayaquil, at which a number of the officers from the army of San Martín were present. He said:

To the day, not far distant, when I shall carry the flag of Colombia triumphant to the public square of Buenos Aires,

then, pausing to note the effect of his words on his hearers and having received no applause, he added,

in order that it may give an embrace of peace to those who have with such enthusiasm and valor maintained the rights of liberty, etc.

The difference in character of the two men may also be judged from other toasts proposed by them in the banquet which celebrated their interview in Guayaquil. Bolívar said:

To the two greatest men of South America—San Martín and myself!

San Martín proposed:

The speedy conclusion of the war, the organization of the different republics of the continent, and the health of the Liberator of Colombia!

From Guayaquil, San Martín returned to Peru and soon afterward left America. He made one brief visit to Argentina but in 1850 he died in France, poverty-stricken and humiliated by the lack of appreciation and gratitude shown him by the peoples whom he had liberated. Argentina, however, thirty years afterward, gallantly recognized its debt. His body was repatriated and now rests in the beautiful cathedral of Buenos Aires, the glory of that nation to redeem whose soil he had suffered so keenly and for so many years.

Bolívar, as San Martín evidently expected, continued his march to the south, made himself master of Peru, and was promptly elected dictator. The southern half of Peru in due time, took its place among free nations as the republic of Bolivia and Bolívar was named its permanent president.¹ His dream, evidently, was to unite all the republics of South America in a single great confederacy, modelled after the Delian League, with himself as its permanent head. But this dream was not to be realized. His wealth was gone, his popularity, due to his violent temper and soaring ambitions, was on the wane, and his body had been weakened by exposure and excesses. In 1830, twenty years before the death of San Martín, he offered the resignation of all the powers he held. This was accepted

¹ The republic of Bolivia has placed a plate near the mausoleum of Bolívar in the Pantheon of Caracas, which reads as follows: "Bolivia, to the posterity of America: You behold the giant sleeping. God and Liberty keep vigil over his couch. The Conqueror of Iberia, he triumphed over Oblivion and found the throne of Glory too strait for him. While there is a heart-beat on Earth, while a chord of sympathy vibrates in the human breast, men must bow low before this Man who gave me life and, dying, willed me his name."

and he was voted a liberal pension for life. He then retired from public life, dissatisfied, soured because of what he esteemed a lack of gratitude on the part of the citizens of the liberated countries, but still hoping that an opportunity might present itself for him to return to power. This opportunity came but a short time before his death. A revolution seemed to offer what he desired, but he was defeated and ordered to leave the country. He then retired to the little village of Santa Marta, in the northeastern corner of what is now Colombia to a little property which he still possessed, and there, like his great prototype on Santa Helena, he died, alone, a tragic, abandoned figure.

In the vexation of his spirit he is said to have exclaimed, as he gave up his power and retired to private life:

Those who have served the revolution have ploughed the sand. If it were possible for a part of the earth to return to its primitive chaos, such would be the last phase of America. There is no faith in America, neither in individuals nor in nations. Their treaties are mere scraps of paper, their constitutions paper and ink, their elections are battles, liberty is anarchy and life a torment.

Yet, his thoughts, as he lay dying, seemed to be for the happiness of the people whom he had served, and his words indicate the really great spirit that dominated the man—great, in spite of his faults and vices. He said:

My wishes are for the happiness of my country. If my death weakens the divisions and helps to consolidate union, I go to the tomb content.

Then he added:

Yes, to the tomb, to which I am sent by my fellow-countrymen. But I forgive them. O that I could take with me the consolation of knowing that they will keep united.

His last words are said to have been:

I believe that the two greatest buffoons of humanity have been Don Quijote and I!

This was in 1830. In 1842 the government of Venezuela ordered the body of Bolívar brought back to Caracas and it now rests in the Pantheon of this, his natal city, in the site of honor among many illustrious dead of that nation.

Both San Martín and Bolívar were great men, so great, possibly, that no one continent could hold them both. Of the two, San Martín was, undoubtedly, the greater.² He was utterly unselfish in his devotion to the cause which he defended with his life. He sought no personal gain or advantage and, like the great Liberator of the north, laid aside his authority when he felt that his peculiar work was done and that a longer tenure of power on his part might engender strife and jeopardize the success of the movement toward liberation and the establishing of free communities. His respect for the rights of the individual nation made impossible his acceptance of the idea of Bolívar for the federation of all around one central power. Austere and unpretentious, even puritanical, by comparison, in his own life, he could have had no sympathy with the ideals and conduct of Bolívar who, at the height of his power in Peru, surrounded himself with the splendor and voluptuousness of an oriental prince.

Of the other liberators, each contributed to the extent of his ability to the success of the great enterprise which all defended with their blood. But no one of them can be compared in greatness with either of the two who have been described in greater detail.

Lord Cochrane stands preëminent among them all, but he was a foreigner. Before he came to America he had been sentenced

² This statement, of course, would be energetically combated in the countries that formed Nueva Granada, and as warmly applauded further south. This is to be expected, since each of these great men is a hero to his own people, who feel that his reputation must be enhanced at all costs, even belittling that of the other should this be necessary. Readers of Spanish will be interested in a little volume, *Simón Bolívar Intimo*, by Martínez, published by the "Casa Editorial Hispano-Americana", in Paris which throws much light on the private life of this really great man.

to the pillory by his indignant countrymen. After his death, so thoroughly had he purged the errors of his youth, he was given a resting place among the greatest of England's dead in the historic halls of Westminster.

The others, almost without exception, died in disgrace or by violence or treachery. Bernardo O'Higgins was banished from Chile and died in Lima. José Miguel de Carrera was shot in Mendoza, as a traitor, before a reprieve signed by San Martín could reach him. Francisco Miranda, the founder of the societies which played such an important part in the war for the liberation of the American colonies, died, alone and naked, in a military dungeon in Cádiz and his body was lost in the potter's field on the mud banks over which the waters of the Mediterranean ebb and flow before that city.³ The curate, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, of Mexico, was executed as a common criminal. Agustín de Iturbide, the only one of the liberators who foolishly crowned himself emperor, died on the scaffold—a possible presage of the pitiful end of another emperor of Mexico whose corpse was sent back to Europe by the Indian Juárez as a discouragement to the imposition of monarchy on the free nations of America. Manuel Belgrano, the hero of Tucuman, was allowed to die in obscurity. Antonio José de Sucre, the hero of Ayacucho, one of the greatest battles of the revolution, was murdered by his own soldiers as they marched along a lonely road.⁴ José Artigas, the liberator of the Banda Oriental del Uruguay, now the republic of that name, died, after thirty

³ In the Pantheon of Caracas, where rest many of that country's illustrious dead, one may read the following reference to Francisco Miranda on a tablet which marks the cenotaph reserved for him: "Venezuela sorrows because of grief at not having been able to find the remains of General Miranda which have been lost in the potter's field of the prison in which this great martyr of American liberty passed away."

"The republic would treasure them, with all the honor due them, in this spot which has been set aside for that purpose by decree of the President, General Joaquín Crespo, under date of January 22, 1896".

⁴ A monument to Sucre in the same city, has this legend: "He was present at the birth of the revolution of independence. At the battle of Ayacucho he made certain the liberty of America. Antonio José de Sucre. His native country, thankful, inconsolable for the loss of his ashes, dedicates to him this monument which was inaugurated during the administration of General Joaquín Crespo."

years of exile, in a lonely hut in Paraguay, a pensioner on the bounty of the stern dictator, José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia.

Bernardino Rivadavia, the greatest civil genius of South America, who gave form to the existing constitutions, and of whom it has been said that "he stands in America second only to Washington as the representative statesman of a free people", died in exile. José María Morelos, the priest of the revolution was condemned by the Holy Office of the Inquisition as "a heretic and an abettor of heretics, a traitor to God, to the king and to the Pope, and a disturber of the ecclesiastical hierarchy", was turned over to the tender mercies of the secular arm of the law, and was finally shot in Mexico.

Both Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín died in banishment, although it was voluntary on the part of the latter.

WEBSTER E. BROWNING.

THE BOUNDARY OF NEW MEXICO AND THE GADSDEN TREATY

A dispute regarding the southern and western boundaries of New Mexico is likely to occupy a comparatively large portion of the completed narrative of the negotiations which ended in the Gadsden Treaty of December 30, 1853. The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo described a new boundary between the United States and Mexico and provided for its survey and location in the following language:

The boundary line between the two Republics shall commence in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, otherwise called the Rio Bravo del Norte, or opposite the mouth of its deepest branch, if it should have more than one branch emptying directly into the sea; from thence up the middle of that river following the deepest channel, where it has more than one, to the point where it strikes the southern boundary of New Mexico, thence westward, along the whole southern boundary of New Mexico (which runs north of the town called Paso) to its western termination; thence northward along the western line of New Mexico, until it intersects the first branch of the river Gila; (or if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then to the point on the said line nearest to such branch, and thence in a direct line to the same); thence down the middle of said branch and of the said river, until it empties into the Rio Colorado; thence across the Rio Colorado, following the division line between Upper and Lower California, to the Pacific Ocean.

The southern and western limits of New Mexico, mentioned in this article, are those laid down in the map entitled "*Map of the United States as organized and defined by various acts of the congress of said republic, and constructed according to the best authorities. Revised edition. Published at New York, in 1847, by J. Disturnell*".

In order to designate the boundary line with due precision, upon authoritative maps, and to establish upon the ground landmarks which shall show the limits of both republics, as described in the present article, the two Governments shall each appoint a commissioner and a

surveyor, who, before the expiration of one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, shall meet at the port of San Diego, and proceed to run and mark said boundary in its whole course to the mouth of the Rio Bravo del Norte. . . .¹

Organization and Work of the First Commission. The progress of the boundary survey was hampered from the beginning by partisan politics in the United States. On July 6, 1848, two days after the proclamation of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Polk sent a special explanatory message to the House and asked for appropriations. In this message he referred to the stipulation in the fifth article which required both countries to appoint a commissioner and a surveyor who should meet at San Diego within a year from the date of the ratification of the treaty. He said it was necessary that "*provision be made by law*" for the appointment of a commissioner and surveyor on the part of the United States.² The Senate promptly passed a bill making such provision,³ but it was introduced in the House just three days before the close of the session and died in the hands of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.⁴

The general appropriation bill passed by this session of congress provided, however, for \$50,000 to be expended in defraying the expenses of the boundary commission.⁵ Polk thereupon proceeded to make the necessary appointments. This he did either because he thought the stipulation in the appropriation bill warranted such action, or because he was anxious to fill the positions on the commission before the expiration of his term of office. The Senate, which contained a membership of thirty-six democrats and twenty-two whigs, of course confirmed Polk's nominations.⁶

When the Senate bill providing for the organization of the commission was taken up in the House during the next session of Congress, the Whigs, who held a majority in this body, at-

¹ W. M. Malloy, *Treaties*, etc. (Washington, 1910), I. 1109-1110.

² *Globe*, 30 cong., 1 sess., pp. 901-902.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1043-1052.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1064.

⁵ 9 U. S. Stat. at Large, 301.

⁶ *Sen. Ex. Journal*, VIII. 24.

tempted to nullify the action of Polk. They introduced amendments confining appointments to the boundary commission to members of the Topographical Corps, and providing that no part of the money appropriated then or thereafter be used to pay the salaries of any officers or persons connected with the boundary survey whose appointment had been made without authority of law. Both of these amendments passed the House, and their partisan nature is shown by the yeas and nays on the latter. Eighty-one Whigs and two Democrats voted for the measure, while forty-four Democrats and one lone Whig voted against it.⁷ The Senate refused to accept the bill as amended by the House⁸ and, consequently, the boundary commission was forced to proceed with limited funds and with uncertainty as to the amount of salary each member was to receive.

The joint commission from Mexico and the United States met at San Diego on July 6, 1849, only a few days after the time stipulated by the treaty. The American group was composed of John B. Weller, commissioner; Andrew B. Gray, surveyor; William H. Emory, astronomer; and John C. Cremony, interpreter. The Mexican government was represented by Pedro García Condé as commissioner, and José Salazar y Larregui as surveyor and astronomer.⁹ Besides these, there were several assistants and a military escort for the commission of each government.¹⁰

On October 10, 1849, the initial point of the boundary was ascertained. A written statement in English and Spanish was placed in a bottle which, after being hermetically sealed, was deposited in the ground, and a temporary monument was erected upon the spot. The commission then proceeded to determine the point of junction of the Gila and the Colorado. In the following January, this point was agreed upon. All that now remained to be done, so far as this portion of the boundary was concerned, was to survey a straight line from the junction of

⁷ *Globe*, 30 cong., 2 sess., pp. 617-624.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 667-668.

⁹ *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 119, 32 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 626), pp. 59, 67.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

these two rivers to the initial point on the Pacific coast. Accordingly, engineers were appointed for this task, and the commission adjourned on February 15, 1850, to meet in El Paso on the first Monday in the following November.¹¹

The Dismissal of Weller. But long before this part of the task had been completed the Whigs had decided to get Weller's scalp. Even prior to his arrival at San Diego, where he was to take up his work, his successor had been appointed. Weller reached San Diego on July 1, 1849,¹² but on June 26, John C. Fremont had been chosen to supersede him and had been given a letter from the Secretary of State to Weller informing him of his dismissal.¹³ Fremont at first accepted the appointment, but he later changed his mind, having in the meantime decided to run for United States Senator from California.¹⁴ The letter of June 26, apparently never reached Weller.¹⁵ Soon afterwards the oversight of the boundary commission was transferred from the Department of State to that of Interior. On December 19, the secretary of the latter department addressed another letter of dismissal to Weller.¹⁶ This dispatch the commissioner received, and he proceeded according to instructions to turn over the books, papers, and other paraphernalia to Major Emory. The letter of the Secretary of Interior accused Weller of carelessness in the management of the commission, and he later declared that Weller had maltreated subordinate officials; but as all this occurred, if at all, after the decision to remove Weller had already been made, there was strong suspicion that the whole affair was a political move.¹⁷

The Second Commission. At any rate, Weller was removed and John Russell Bartlett was at length appointed in his stead on June 19, 1850.¹⁸ A virtual reorganization of the commission

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 65; *Sen. ex. Doc.*, No. 34, 31 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 558), pp. 31-38.

¹² *Globe*, 31 cong., 2 sess., pp. 78-79.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-84; *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 34, 31 cong. 1 sess. (ser. 558), pp. 9-10.

¹⁴ William H. Emory, "Report", *House Ex. Doc.* No. 135, 34 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 861), p. 5.

¹⁵ *Globe*, 31 cong., 2 sess., p. 80.

¹⁶ *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 34, 31 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 558), p. 15.

¹⁷ *Globe*, 31 cong., 2 sess., pp. 80 ff.

¹⁸ *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 119, 32 cong. 1 sess. (ser. 626), p. 87.

then took place. Gray was retained as surveyor, but John McClellan was appointed as chief astronomer instead of Emory who had resigned.¹⁹ Neither the American nor the Mexican group reached El Paso by the appointed time. The former, with the exception of Gray, arrived on November 13, and the latter put in their appearance December 1.²⁰

Compromise Regarding the Initial Point on the Rio Grande. The first question to be decided was the initial point on the Rio Grande. According to Article V. of the treaty of 1848, the southern and western boundaries of New Mexico were to be those laid down in Disturnell's map, and the boundary of the United States was to extend up the middle of the Rio Grande "to the point where it strikes the southern boundary of New Mexico (which runs south of the town called Paso)". But it was soon found that there were errors in the Disturnell map. El Paso was not only located thirty minutes too far north, but both it and the Rio Grande were placed more than two degrees too far to the east. Again, according to this map the southern boundary of New Mexico was three degrees long and seven minutes north of El Paso. A dispute arose as to whether the actual position of El Paso and of the Rio Grande should be made the starting point and a line beginning seven minutes north of El Paso run westward for three degrees, or whether the points were to be located by parallels and meridians as laid down on Disturnell's map. The Mexican commissioner contended that the initial point should be fixed on the Rio Grande as actually situated, but at the parallel of thirty-two degrees and twenty-two minutes as it appeared on the Disturnell map; and that, moreover, the length of the southern boundary of New Mexico should be determined by subtracting the distance between the Rio Grande as actually situated and as it appeared upon this map, from three degrees (175.28 English miles), thus leaving this portion of the line about one-third its length as shown on the Disturnell map.²¹

¹⁹ *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 34, 31 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 558), pp. 12-13.

²⁰ J. R. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative* (New York, 1854), II. 145, 150.

²¹ Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, I. 201-203; *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 119, 32 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 626), pp. 289, *passim*.

The commissioner for the United States dissented from this view, and after a number of meetings, a compromise was reached, by the terms of which the southern boundary of New Mexico was to extend three degrees west of the Rio Grande as the river was actually situated, running along the parallel of thirty-two degrees and twenty-six minutes, or seven minutes north of El Paso as that city appeared upon the Disturnell map.²² With this compromise Bartlett was well pleased, for he believed that Condé would never have consented to the extension of the boundary three degrees west of the Rio Grande had the American commissioner refused to fix the initial point thirty minutes further north than it would have fallen according to the relative actual positions of the southern boundary of New Mexico and the town of El Paso. He felt, also, that in consenting to such a compromise he had yielded land of no great value while gaining territory rich in gold and silver mines.²³ Moreover, the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of State approved Bartlett's action.

The agreement regarding the initial point was reached on December 25, 1850,²⁴ before Surveyor Gray put in his appearance. When he arrived late in July, 1851, he found the corner stone marking the spot already laid and a portion of the southern boundary of New Mexico already run.²⁵ He refused, however, to sign the agreement reached by Bartlett and Condé, and recalling Lieutenant Whipple, who had been acting as surveyor *ad interim*, from his work on this line, he sent him with two parties to the Gila.²⁶ Colonel Graham who was now the astronomer of the commission likewise disapproved, as did Whipple,

²² *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 119, pp. 391-394, 406-409, and accompanying maps. See also, H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco, 1889), p. 451.

²³ *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 119, pp. 145-148; *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 131 (ser. 627), pp. 1-3.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 391.

²⁵ Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, I. 206-207; *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 119 (ser. 626), p. 298.

²⁶ The best statement of Gray's views is found in *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 55, 33 Cong., 2 sess. (ser. 752).

and later, Major Emory.²⁷ Owing to quarrels between the American astronomer and surveyor, as well as between the commissioner and his subordinates, operations proceeded slowly on the Gila,²⁸ and both Gray and Graham were recalled before the end of the year.²⁹ Their combined functions were then conferred upon Emory, and better results were achieved. By the fall of 1852, the survey was completed, so far as the United States commission was concerned, from San Diego to the headwaters of the Gila, and from El Paso to Eagle Pass.³⁰ Notwithstanding the death of General Condé, the Mexican commission had completed by that time the entire survey west of the Rio Grande, and had begun operations on that river.³¹ Bartlett now decided to send Whipple back to the boundary of New Mexico to take up the work where he had left off, while he and most of his men prepared to join Emory at Eagle Pass.³² But while *en route*, he received a communication from Washington which convinced him that further operations of the commission would be impossible.³³ It was accordingly disbanded, and Bartlett and Emory set out for the capital.³⁴

Congressional Action. Congress had in fact legislated the commission out of existence. It will be recalled how slow that body had been about taking the action necessary for its organization. In April, 1850, a bill had at length been passed fixing the salaries of the commissioner, the surveyor, and the astronomer, and providing for the termination of the commission three years

²⁷ For a statement of Graham's contentions, see *ibid.* No. 121, 32 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 627). The most concise presentation of Bartlett's reasons for his course of action is contained in *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 41, 32 cong., 2 sess. (ser. 665). It would obviously not be pertinent to the main interest of this monograph to go into the arguments for and against the line agreed upon by the commissioners. They maintained that the boundary should have been established on a parallel thirty minutes farther south than had been done by the compromise line.

²⁸ *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 119 (ser. 626), pp. 172 *passim*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 442-443; also *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 121, 32 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 627), p. 49.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 6, 33 cong., special sess. (ser. 688), pp. 18, 61-68, 117-119.

³¹ *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 6, 33 cong., special sess. (ser. 688) pp. 18, 61-68, 117-119.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 71-74, 161.

³³ Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II. 514.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 517 ff.

from January, 1850. In May and in September of the same year appropriations were made amounting to \$185,000, while the general appropriation bill for the following year set apart another \$100,000 for the boundary survey.³⁵

But signs of an approaching storm were already visible. When news of Weller's dismissal reached Washington early in 1851, it occasioned vigorous protests on the part of the democratic element in the Senate.³⁶ Upon being released from the commission, Weller had remained in California where he made a successful race for the United States Senate. As soon as he obtained his seat in that body, he began to take active interest in the boundary survey. In March, 1852, he introduced a long resolution calling upon the Secretary of Interior to submit copies of all instructions given the commission, all correspondence relating to it, the number and names of persons employed, the amount of money spent, the manner of its disbursal, and an estimate of the amount necessary to complete the work. Weller also brought in a resolution asking information as to whether any charges had been filed in the War Department against the commission.³⁷

The latter resolution had reference to charges preferred against Bartlett by Colonel McClellan whom he had discharged from the commission for drunkenness, efforts to destroy the authority of the commissioner, and conduct unbecoming a gentleman and an officer.³⁸ The chief complaints against Bartlett were the private use of transportation provided by the government for the boundary commission, unpardonable mismanagement of public interests and funds entrusted to him, and neglect of the health, comfort, and lives of individuals connected with the commission.³⁹ Into the details regarding the charges it is not necessary to go. They are mentioned here because they tend to cast discredit upon the commission and to delay the appro-

³⁵ Emory, "Report", *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 135, 34 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 861), p. 21; *Globe*, 31 cong., 1 sess., pp. 744, 745.

³⁶ *Globe*, 31 cong., 2 sess., pp. 78-84.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 32 cong., 1 sess., p. 814.

³⁸ *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 60, 32 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 620), pp. 10-17, 46-63.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-5, 23-46.

priations necessary to carry out its work, while, at the same time, they have some bearing upon the complaints of the Mexican government to be considered later.

More important than these charges, was the contention that Bartlett had departed from the treaty of 1848 in establishing the initial point on the Rio Grande. Rusk of Texas was the principal champion of this view. In May, 1852, he proposed, along with an amendment to the deficiency bill appropriating \$80,000 for running the boundary, a proviso that nothing in the amendment should be construed so as to sanction a departure from the point on the Rio Grande north of the town called Paso designated in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.⁴⁰ In the following July, while speaking of the charges preferred against Bartlett, Rusk declared that he would do everything in his power to resist the appropriation of money until there was assurance that this treaty and not the agreement of the commissioners should settle the question of the initial point on the Rio Grande.⁴¹ The \$80,000 eventually appropriated for the boundary contained Rusk's proviso.⁴²

Prominent among those who sided with Rusk was Mason of Virginia. In the latter part of August, 1852, when the expenses for running the boundary were being considered as an item in the general appropriation bill, he proposed "that no part of the appropriation should be used until it should be made to appear to the President of the United States that the southern boundary of New Mexico had not been established further north of El Paso than is laid down in the Disturnell Map".⁴³ Before the close of the month, the bill with the amendment received the approval of both houses and became a law.⁴⁴ Fillmore, in accordance with the provision, examined all the reports of the boundary commission, and, concluding that the money could not be used, ordered the Secretary of the Interior to discontinue

⁴⁰ *Globe*, 32 cong., 1 sess., p. 1404.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1660.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 1404.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 2270-2271.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2407.

operations.⁴⁵ In the following March, that part of the appropriation bill which applied to the Mexican boundary was so amended as to permit the use of the funds necessary to complete the survey of the Rio Grande.⁴⁶ Work on the southern boundary of New Mexico was not to be resumed, however, and the dispute was left over for the incoming administration.

Factors Complicating the Situation. There were two factors which tended to lend gravity to the situation. In the first place, it was believed that the settlement agreed upon by the commissioners involved the loss of the only practicable southern route for a Pacific railway. This was deemed a matter of considerable importance. Major Emory had brought the subject to Buchanan's notice while negotiations which resulted in the Guadalupe Hidalgo treaty were in progress.⁴⁷ A provision relating to the matter was embodied in that treaty as finally drafted, Article VI. being made to provide for a joint agreement between the contracting parties with reference to the construction of a road, canal, or railway running "along the river Gila, or upon its right or its left bank, within the space of one marine league from either margin of the river". In his instruction to Weller, Buchanan had suggested that the "selection of individuals" for the boundary commission might be "made with reference to the incidental collection of information relative to the construction" of the proposed communication.⁴⁸ In the following February, the Secretary of State again called the subject to Weller's attention, declaring that the inquiry regarding the route was one of "great importance to the country".⁴⁹ The instructions of Commissioner Bartlett made the investigations regarding a railway of more than "incidental" importance. Referring to Article VI. of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Secretary of Interior, wrote:

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 32 cong., 2 sess., p. 10.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 881, 1045, app. p. 331.

⁴⁷ Emory, "Report", *House Ex. Doc.* No. 135, 34 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 861), pp. 50-51.

⁴⁸ Buchanan to Weller, Jan. 24, 1849, *ibid.*, No. 34, 31 cong. 1 sess., (ser. 558), pp. 2-3.

⁴⁹ Same to same, Feb. 13, 1849, *ibid.*, 3-6.

As the examinations to be made and the information to be collected, agreeably to this article, are of very great importance, you will make such organization of parties, and assign to them such duties, as will be productive of the desired results.⁵⁰

At least one member of the commission, Major Emory, was intensely interested in the matter. Writing from San Diego, California, April 2, 1849, he said:

By pushing the survey eastward, and looking for a branch of the Gila which shall fulfil the conditions of the treaty—the first to intersect the boundary of New Mexico—you will inevitably be made to strike that boundary far north of the parallel of the copper mines; because all the streams south of that parallel, having their sources in the Sierra Madre, running towards the Gila, disappear in the sands before they reach Gila, except in cases of unusual freshets. Working eastward their almost trackless beds must escape the notice of the keenest observer. Working from the 'Paso del Norte' northward, you strike the sources of the streams themselves; and although they may disappear many leagues before reaching the Gila, they may nevertheless be affluents of that river, and fulfil the conditions of that treaty.

Another view of the case may also be taken. The inaccuracy of the map upon which the treaty was made, and which thereby becomes a part of the treaty, is notorious. It is also known to all who have been much in the frontier States of Mexico, that the boundaries of those States have never been defined on the ground, and are unknown. This is particularly the case with the boundary betwixt New Mexico and Chihuahua. In this condition of things the commission must negotiate, and they may adopt the 32d parallel of latitude, until it strikes the San Pedro, or even a more southern parallel of latitude. This would give what good authority, combined with my own observations, authorizes me to say is a practicable route for a railroad—I believe the only one from ocean to ocean within our territory.⁵¹

Speaking of this letter at a later date, Emory asserted that he had written it "in the hope that the United States commissioner might succeed in torturing the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to

⁵⁰ Secretary of Interior to Bartlett, Aug. 1, 1850, Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II. 589.

⁵¹ Emory, "Report", *House Ex. Doc.* No. 135, 34 cong. 1 sess. (ser. 861), pp. 20-21.

embrace a practicable route" for the proposed road.⁵² But Bartlett had agreed to the parallel of thirty-two degrees and twenty-two minutes, and had thus, as some believed, surrendered the line best adapted to the purpose.⁵³

Attitude of the People and Authorities in the Disputed Section. The second factor which tended to render the situation dangerous was the attitude of the inhabitants and the officials living in and near the territory in dispute. Of the area of some 5,950 square miles in question—that is to say, the territory between the compromise line and that claimed by Gray—all except a narrow strip along the Rio Grande was considered barren and worthless. This strip, called *La Mesilla*, was known to be very fertile.⁵⁴ As to the motives leading to its settlement, and the political sentiments of the inhabitants, the authorities differ. Bartlett says the Mexican element of Doña Ana, which had been exasperated by the encroachments of the Anglo-Americans, sought new homes there in the belief that it would fall within the limits of Mexico, and that the Mexican government later encouraged Mexicans from New Mexico to make homes there.⁵⁵ Reports sent to the governors of New Mexico and forwarded by them to Washington indicated that the settlers came there with the clear understanding that it was to be within the jurisdiction of the United States.⁵⁶ At any rate the settlement of the valley began about 1849 or 1850, the region was in a flourishing condition,⁵⁷ and there were differences of opinion in regard to the political desires of the settlers. The Mexican officials contended that virtually all of them were desirous of being annexed to Chihuahua,⁵⁸ and with this view Bartlett was apparently in agreement, though he admitted that they may have been inveigled by wily land speculators

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁵³ *Globe*, 32 cong., 1 sess., pp. 2402-2404, app., 776 ff.

⁵⁴ Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, I. 188, 212.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 213, II. 391. See also Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 652.

⁵⁶ Houghton to Lane, September 1, 1853, and inclosures; Mansfield to Merriwether, October 25, 1853; Marcy to Merriwether, May 28, 1853. State Department, B.I.A.

⁵⁷ Bartlett, *op. et loc. cit.*

⁵⁸ Commissioners of Chihuahua to Lane, March 19, and Trias to Lane, March 28, 1853, State Department, B.I.A.

to petition for annexation to New Mexico.⁵⁹ That a group of its inhabitants sent in a petition expressing vigorous opposition to annexation to Chihuahua is certain;⁶⁰ and Judge Hyde of El Paso declared that the American population and "many of the Mexicans" had organized to resist any authorities Mexico might send, and were preparing to petition the governor of New Mexico to order elections for the civil officials of the district.⁶¹ There was probably some truth in both statements, the Anglo-Saxon portion of the heterogeneous population being, in general, partial to New Mexico, while the majority of the Mexican element gave preference to Chihuahua.

A population thus divided served to render the situation more critical. Soon after the boundary commission reached the compromise regarding the southern boundary of New Mexico, the chief executive of Chihuahua responded to the supposed desire of the people for the protecting arm of his government, and apparently showed little regard for the persons and property of those who refused to accept his benevolence. The Americans, and those "favorable to American rights and privileges" naturally objected, not only petitioning the governor of New Mexico, but also asking that their complaints be laid before the federal government for redress.⁶²

So far as the governor of New Mexico at the time was concerned, their efforts resulted in little more than calling forth from a dying man a wail because one more vexation had been added to a problem already difficult.⁶³ Before the new governor, William Carr Lane, left the east, he was urged by the territorial delegate to congress from New Mexico to occupy the disputed ground by force.⁶⁴ Lane took no action, however, until he learned that the federal congress had repudiated Bartlett's

⁵⁹ Bartlett, *op. cit.* II. 391-392.

⁶⁰ Citizens of Mesilla to Calhoun, August 25, 1851, James A. Calhoun, *Official Correspondence* (ed. A. H. Abel, Washington, 1915), pp. 404-405.

⁶¹ *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 41, 32 cong., 2 sess. (ser. 665), p. 13.

⁶² Calhoun, *Official Correspondence*, pp. 404-405.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 424-425.

⁶⁴ Lane to Taylor, January 23, 1854, *House Rep.* No. 81, 33 cong. 2 sess. (ser. 808), pp. 1-2.

line. He then set out toward the disputed territory. When he arrived at Doña Ana, he issued a proclamation laying claim to jurisdiction over it,⁶⁵ justifying the step on the ground (1) that the section had been under the acknowledged jurisdiction of New Mexico from 1825 to 1851; (2) that the forcible annexation of the territory by Chihuahua at the latter date was illegal because the agreement of the commissioners did not constitute a final settlement; (3) that Chihuahua had signally failed not only to secure the inhabitants of the region in their rights of person, property, and conscience, but also to protect them from the depredations of the Indians; (4) that the revolutionary condition of Mexico precluded the hope of such protection being furnished in the future, (5) that a large portion of the inhabitants were claiming the protection of the United States and soliciting the re-annexation of that territory to New Mexico; (6) that during the year 1852 the United States had virtually asserted sovereignty over the region, and therefore it was his duty now to re-assert it.⁶⁶

Lane mailed a copy of his proclamation to Angel Trias, the governor of Chihuahua, who responded with a counter declaration and prepared to resist Lane's claim by military force. Trias declared that the limits of Chihuahua had extended not only over the territory in question, but even farther northward; that, in regard to the disputed region, Mexico had in its favor the possession of the territory from time immemorial, its *pacific* occupation under the sight of the officials of the United States who were not accustomed to remain silent in cases where their rights were in doubt, its inclusion within the limits of Mexico by the joint boundary commission and the establishment of the immigrants who had chosen to leave the United States within it. Trias maintained, furthermore, that the inhabitants of the disputed section did not desire annexation to the United States, and, even if they did, this would not justify annexation; that in resorting to force, the governor of New Mexico would violate the

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁶ Proclamation of March 13, 1853, State Department, B.I.A. A copy was printed in Spanish in *El Siglo XIX*, 10 de abril de 1853.

21st article of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; and that it was not the prerogative of the governor to maintain the rights of the United States in a purely federal matter. In bringing his communication to a conclusion Trias sounded a note of warning regarding Lane's proposed occupation of the territory in dispute:

I shall use the means unquestionably necessary for its defense and conservation, in case it is attacked, and upon Your Excellency alone shall rest the responsibility for the consequences to which the procedure may give place."⁶⁷

Prior to the arrival of this dispatch, Lane received a long communication from the so-called commissioners of Chihuahua who, endowed also with certain federal functions, were at that time upon the frontier. They set forth a line of argument similar to that of Trias, and the conclusion of their dispatch was no less bellicose:

Your Excellency will pardon my recommending that, in the interest of peace and neighborliness . . . you will maturely reflect and abandon your present resolution; because, if you do not, it becomes my duty as a commissioner of the Mexican Government not to permit any occupation of territory which would be prejudicial to the national honor.⁶⁸

To the commissioners Lane replied immediately, giving evidence designed to support the contentions of his proclamation, and declaring that neither he nor the people of the United States coveted any portion of Mexican territory. The tone of his reply, however, was by no means pacifying. He said:

They [the American people] do not covet any territory that justly belongs to you, and if they did, you well know how easy would be the acquisition. . . . I came here in the spirit of peace, to perform a rightful and imperious duty, and had hoped to have found the authorities of Chihuahua reasonable and law-abiding; but instead thereof, I

⁶⁷ Trias to Lane, March 28, 1853, *El Siglo XIX*, 10 de abril de 1853; also in *El Universal*, 11 de abril de 1853 and in State Department, B.I.A.

⁶⁸ Dispatch dated March 19, 1853, *El Siglo XIX*, 10 de abril de 1853; also English translation published in *Santa Fé Gazette*, a clipping of which is in the State Department, B.I.A.

have been met with demonstrations of absurd and impotent hostility. . . . ⁶⁹

Before Lane found time to frame an answer to Trias, events occurred which modified the situation. In the first place, Colonel Sumner, the commander of the Department of New Mexico, refused to respond to his call for assistance in enforcing his proclamation; and although Texan and New Mexican volunteers offered to help him occupy the territory, he deemed it inadvisable under the circumstances to do so. Accordingly, he decided to lay the whole matter before the President.⁷⁰ Secondly, he received, on May 12, a letter from Alfred Conkling, the minister of the United States in Mexico, and another from Governor Trias. Conkling had been given by the Mexican Minister of Relations the proclamation of Lane and the reply of the commissioners of Chihuahua. His official duty would have been sufficiently discharged by forwarding the documents to Washington, but in view of the "extreme gravity" of the situation he decided to make known to Lane his opinion that nothing short of indubitable right and necessity could justify the occupation of the territory, and to advise him "gracefully" to change the attitude he had assumed.⁷¹ The dispatch from Trias informed Lane that he had received a copy of the letter of Conkling to the governor of New Mexico, and expressed the confident hope that, in view of the advice of the Minister of the United States, Lane would do nothing to interrupt the amicable relations of the two countries.⁷²

Lane's reply to Trias was therefore more conciliating. He declared that the authorities of Chihuahua had erred in attributing to him warlike measures. He had brought the subject to the attention of the cabinet in Washington, and he did not propose to move further until he received advices from that

⁶⁹ Dispatch of March 23, 1853, State Department, B.I.A.; also Spanish translation in *El Universal*, 15 de mayo de 1853.

⁷⁰ Lane to Taylor, January 23, 1854, *House Rep.* No. 81, 33 cong., 2 sess. (ser. 808), pp. 1-2.

⁷¹ Dispatch of April 8, 1853, State Department, B.I.A.

⁷² Dispatch of April 30, 1853, *ibid.*

source, "unless some unexpected contingency made further action indispensably necessary".⁷³

Attitude of the Government of the United States Regarding the Action of Lane. Instead of instructing Lane as to further procedure in the matter, the federal government, in apparent disapproval of his action, sent out David Merriwether to supersede him. Merriwether was given full information regarding the state of the boundary dispute. He was told that an "unaccountable blunder" had been made in the survey. The American commissioner had given his consent to

an initial point on the Rio Grande about thirty-two miles farther north than indicated by the map annexed to and made a part of the treaty. In consequence of this mistake the line proposed to be established would exclude a large and valuable tract of country, heretofore regarded as a part of New Mexico. . . . This error in the yet unfinished labor of the boundary commission has [had] furnished a pretext to Mexico to assert a claim to this extensive tract.

For numerous reasons the United States could not admit this claim. What the Mexican government or the State of Chihuahua had done in relation to the occupancy of the country was not definitely known, but Merriwether was instructed to

abstain from taking forcible possession of the tract, even if on your [his] arrival in New Mexico you find [he found] it held adversely to the claim of the U. S. by Mexico or the authorities of Chihuahua.⁷⁴

Colonel Sumner was likewise superseded by the appointment of Brevet Brigadier-General John Garland. The new commander was given a copy of Merriwether's instructions, and informed that they contained the views of the government in regard to the New Mexican boundary.

Your tried patriotism and known discretion [said the Secretary of War] give all needful assurance that you will, on every occasion, promptly and properly maintain the rights of your country and the

⁷³ Dispatch of May 15, 1853, *ibid.*

⁷⁴ Marcy to Merriwether, May 28, 1853, State Department, B.I.A.

honor of its flag; and in doing so, it is expected that you will avoid, as far as you consistently can, any collision with the troops or civil authorities of the Republic of Mexico or State of Chihuahua.⁷⁵

At the same time Secretary of State Marcy wrote Conkling that the administration had no intention of departing from the path marked out by international law in such disagreements. He said:

Where a dispute as to territorial limits arises between two nations, the ordinary course is to leave the territory claimed by them, respectively, in the same condition in which it was when the difficulty first occurred until an arrangement can be made. . . . It has not been the intention of the United States to deviate from this course, nor has any notice been given by Mexico that she proposed to assume jurisdiction over it. . . .⁶⁹

Governor Lane is justified in claiming the disputed territory as part of New Mexico and in denying that the acts of the boundary commission had in any manner effected a transfer of the territory from New Mexico to Chihuahua, but his proceeding to enter the territory and hold it by force of arms [!] is not approved and will not be, unless it shall appear that the authorities of Chihuahua had changed or were attempting to change the state of things in the disputed territory from the condition in which they were before the action of the boundary commission on that part of the line. The successor of Governor Lane will proceed without delay to New Mexico with instructions to pursue a course fair towards Mexico and usual in such cases.⁷⁶

Alarm in Mexico. Such of this correspondence as came to light could hardly be calculated to allay the uneasiness and suspicion in Mexico. The Mexicans were especially apprehensive because of the aggressive attitude of the Anglo-Americans as revealed by the actions of the Tehuantepec company and the filibusters, and in the United States press. The Mexican commissioner had shown certain uneasiness almost from the beginning. On April 20, 1850, De la Rosa complained to Webster

⁷⁵ Davis to Garland, June 2, 1853, War Department.

⁷⁶ J. B. Moore, *History and Digest of International Law*, (Washington, 1906), I. 754.

of delay in the execution of the survey, concluding his note with the significant remark that he had called the matter to the attention of the United States government

in order that if in the future the unsettled state of the boundary between the two republics should unfortunately give rise to any unpleasant differences between them, no blame whatever may [might] be imputed to the government of Mexico.⁷⁷

In the following year, after the reorganization of the commission of the United States, he objected to multiplicity of duties thrust upon the new body. He complained that it would require five years to complete the work at the previous rate of progress, and went on to call attention to the importance of the completion of the boundary survey to the preservation of the relations of friendship and good understanding between the two countries.⁷⁸ Again, in 1852, La Vega lodged with the Secretary of State a somewhat lengthy protest. He reminded Webster that, notwithstanding the fact that the joint commission had long since reached an agreement concerning the initial point of the boundary, its survey had been constantly delayed by the absence of the American surveyor, by numerous changes in the personnel of the United States commission, and by lack of harmony among its members. He implored the United States to organize the commission in permanent form, and declared that if the same method of confusion was continued, Mexico would not be responsible for the consequences.⁷⁹

The news of Lane's proclamation not only caused the State of Chihuahua to take immediate action, but it led to some preparations on the part of the Mexican Federal government. On April 1, the former sent out circulars to the *jefe-politicos* instructing them to make effective the national guard. On the following day Trias was granted leave of absence for the purpose of proceeding to the frontier. He levied a forced loan,⁸⁰ collected

⁷⁷ *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 119, 32 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 626), pp. 2-4.

⁷⁸ De la Rosa to Webster, *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 120, 32 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 627), pp. 1-2.

⁷⁹ De la Vega to Webster, January, 1852, *loc. cit.*, pp. 2-4.

⁸⁰ *El Siglo XIX*, 23 de abril y 17 de mayo de 1853; *El Universal*, 20 de abril de 1853.

troops and supplies, and before the close of the month, arrived at El Paso with some 800 men.⁸¹ At the same time, he dispatched to Mexico City a commissioner who was to present the claims of Chihuahua to the supreme government.⁸² The action of Trias seems to have been approved. According to reports, the central government ordered to Chihuahua two companies of the Battalion of the Line, the *cuerpos activos* of Aguas Calientes and Guajuato, and three pieces of artillery.⁸³ At the same time the governor of Durango was ordered to the aid of Chihuahua. The chief executive of Zacatecas apparently had already dispatched 200 troops of the national guard to the frontier.⁸⁴

The Mexican press showed considerable interest and uneasiness regarding the matter. The two leading papers of Mexico City sought to arouse the patriotism of their countrymen. On May 15, the editor of *El Universal* exhorted his readers to recall the "infinite offences" which their country had suffered with shameful resignation from the neighboring republic. Seeking to stimulate confidence, he contended that Mexico's seven millions were not defeated in 1847 by Scott, but rather by the vicious federal political system which had created a perennial source of internal strife by placing the divided power into the hands of the selfish and ignorant. Under such a system good men had been made the victims of unjust contumelies and atrocious persecutions, and had consequently lost all spirit and hope. But all this had changed now. The present government, based as it was upon fixed and sound principles, was capable of giving encouragement and creating patriotism. If Governor Lane was judging Mexico in 1853 by Mexico in 1847 he was destined to have his eyes opened. Mexico now had "magnificent prospects; *y un pueblo con estas esperanzas no las abandona facilmente, no se deja subyugar*". On May 24, the same periodical reported the news that Lane's conduct had been disapproved by the cabinet at Washington. But the editor was still uneasy.

⁸¹ Trias wrote Lane from El Paso on April 30.

⁸² *El Universal*, 11 de mayo de 1853.

⁸³ *El Siglo XIX*, 23 de abril y 17 de mayo de 1853.

⁸⁴ *El Siglo XIX*, 26 de abril de 1853.

This approval, if indeed it had occurred, might indicate that Pierce would respect Mexican rights, but his term would soon be over, and even during his administration "unexpected contingencies" might arise. On June 5, he came forth with an editorial urging the organization of a strong army, pointing out as the chief reason for this action the fact that the reported attitude of the Pierce government regarding Mesilla could not be taken as unfailing evidence that the United States would always be able to restrain the sentiment for unlimited expansion.

Statements coming from an organ which, like *El Universal*, was supporting Santa Anna and his centralist system, probably should be somewhat discounted. The threat of foreign invasion may have had something to do with his recall from exile,⁸⁵ and it could certainly be used to consolidate his power. But even *El Siglo XIX* gave evidence of considerable feeling and alarm. On June 5, the editor stated that indications pointed to the conclusion that the United States had not been responsible for Lane's action. It might be that war would not result. He hoped not. The Mexican people did not desire war, but they could not afford to allow their rights to be infringed upon. "If just because Mexico is weaker than the United States, we should submit to the most exaggerated pretensions, our country would be unworthy of the name nation."

News that the disapproval of Lane's action was probably the cause of his removal, and that the commander of the federal forces in New Mexico had refused to support the territorial executive, should have served to allay the disturbed state of mind at least temporarily, but certain factors tended to nullify the effect of these actions. Lane had been replaced, but what instructions had been given to Merriwether who superseded him? Sumner had refused to assist Lane in his proposed occupation of *Mesilla*, but he had now been transferred elsewhere, and the instructions and attitude of Garland who had been placed in command of the New Mexican department were matters for uneasy conjecture. Conkling had assumed a conservative and

⁸⁵ *El Universal*, 30 de marzo de 1853, and following; Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1883-1888), V. 634.

friendly attitude regarding the dispute, but what instructions would be given to Gadsden who was soon to succeed to his post?

In the absence of definite knowledge the Mexican public turned to the American newspaper. June 22, *El Universal* reported that the latest periodicals from the United States indicated the most interesting topic of discussion to be *La Mesilla*. The New Orleans *Picayune* had announced that the affair had taken on new complications. A number of troops had already received orders to proceed from Texas to New Mexico, among which were six companies of the eighth regiment of infantry. The two companies of light artillery already stationed in New Mexico were to receive fresh horses. Three hundred recruits were to leave Fort Leavenworth on the 20th for Santa Fé. Under the command of Garland, they were to form a sort of escort for Governor Merriwether. Although the administration did not think war would result, it had resolved to have forces in readiness upon the frontier. The *True Delta* of New Orleans declared that the United States meant to repel any Mexican force that appeared in the disputed region. The *True Delta* did not believe a serious break would occur, however, for Mexico surely must know that such a step would mean "the disappearance forever of its nationality". At the same time these periodicals, together with the Washington *Union* which was supposed to be the official organ, asserted that Gadsden was to proceed to Mexico with authority to purchase the Mesilla Valley and whatever other territory the government "desired" or was "compelled to have" for the purpose of a Pacific railway.

On June 29, the entire front page of *El Universal* was covered by an editorial treating of the recent news from the United States, and giving special attention to an article contained in a recent number of the *Union*. The editor remarked that although the first news from Washington had been gratifying, it now seemed that there had been a change. He was inclined to this opinion the more, because the news had been conveyed by official and semi-official channels. Moreover, Mexico need not be surprised to learn of the changed attitude, because the nation had already had occasion to be grieved by the iniquitous genius of

the Republic of the North for advancing its material interests. The *Union* had produced arguments in support of the contention that *La Mesilla* belonged to the United States; but to a nation whose politics were based upon the brutal laws of force only one argument, that of self-interest, was necessary. Why not renounce the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, renew the fight which it terminated, and require more territory as the price of peace?

President Polk invaded us because his country desired . . . more territory. To-day there exists the same desire. . . Why does not Mr. Pierce give pleasure to the democrats? Why does he not extend, as they say, the *area of liberty* so as to cause to participate in its benefits the people which they consider slaves? Ah! it would be worthy of the Model republic to *emancipate* the new world by the same system which it had employed in Texas, California, and New Mexico!

Finally, while the same organ, on July 25, denied the statement that hostilities had opened between the Mexican and American forces in the neighborhood of Mesilla, it reported in its number of September 8, news purporting to come from a reliable source that the United States had 10,000 troops on the Rio Grande and that a skirmish had occurred between Trias and an American detachment.

Once more it must be borne in mind that *El Universal* was a supporter of Santa Anna whose interest such alarm would serve. Nevertheless, these reports must have kept the public in a state of anxiety. Moreover, *El Siglo XIX*, continued to give alarming excerpts from the news of the United States relating to the dispute. The *Chronicle* of New York, for instance, was quoted as reporting that Merriwether had orders to resist the occupation of Mesilla by Mexican troops, while a clipping from the *Times* declared that Trias and Garland could not carry out their respective orders without "clash and bloodshed", and that the arms and munitions sent to the frontier were more than had been at the disposal of General Taylor during his campaign.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ *El Siglo XIX*, 11 y 13 de julio de 1853.

Public Opinion in the United States. As the foregoing quotations have already indicated, a portion of the press in the United States assumed either a somewhat defiant or a patronizing attitude. The editor of the *Alta California* of May 25, said that Santa Anna knew better than to attack the United States, but on August 22, he declared that he was "by no means satisfied" that the matter would be settled without war. The order of General Garland to the valley with troops was "entirely without meaning" if he did not mean to take possession, and, if he did, war was "inevitable". In the following September, the same paper reported that news from Washington was "unpleasantly indicative of a renewal of hostilities". The editor considered the "gradual absorption or the violent dismemberment of Mexico" an event which was to be consummated within a few years. And yet, Santa Anna had shown more disposition to carry his point by diplomacy than by war. It might be, also, that the increased military force lately ordered to the Rio Grande by the government of the United States was "designated to defend the frontier from Indian invasion".⁸⁷

The exciting rumors in the United States apparently reached their climax in August. At that time the journals of New York, New Orleans, and Baltimore reported that Mexico was throwing a large body of troops on the Rio Grande with hostile intent. Such statements at length led the Mexican legation in the United States to send to the papers of Washington an explanatory communication to the effect that the movement of Mexican troops had for its purpose the maintenance of order and the defense of the frontier against the Indians.⁸⁸

The Mexican Version of the Gadsden Treaty. The rumors of a threatened outbreak of hostilities gave opportunity for Santa Anna and his party to frame a version of the Gadsden negotiations which placed his sale of Mexican territory before his constituency in a somewhat favorable light. When the news of the alienation of the national domain aroused a storm of protest, the dictator and his friends endeavored to excuse their action

⁸⁷ *Alta California*, September 8, 1853.

⁸⁸ *El Siglo XIX*, 11 de noviembre de 1853; *Harper's Monthly*, VIII. (November, 1853), 835.

by the allegation that the United States would have taken the territory by force had they not consented to its sale.⁸⁹ This story was not sufficiently convincing, however, to stem the tide of opposition which soon ended in Santa Anna's overthrow, and on two subsequent occasions he referred to the affair, along with other matters, in an attempt to restore himself to the good graces of the Mexican people. These two accounts, one contained in a *pronunciamiento* issued from his place of exile in 1858 and the other in his memoirs written some ten years later, agree in essentials. In the first, he said, in substance, that the government of the United States, with the view of stirring up trouble, had dispatched a considerable force to threaten the department of Chihuahua; that the Mexicans "had nothing with which to oppose the invaders arrogantly appearing along the frontier but the sad spectacle . . . of our [their] exceeding weakness"; that during the progress of the negotiations Gadsden gave the Mexican officials to understand that the territory in question was absolutely essential to the United States, and that Mexico had as well sell it for a reasonable price, since "imperious necessity" would at length compel the Washington government to take it anyway. In the second statement, Santa Anna asserted that the United States government, "with knife in hand, was still trying to cut another piece from the body it had just horribly mutilated"; and that "an American division was already treading the soil of the State of Chihuahua". He then proceeded to describe the diplomatic conferences in detail. Although in the first account Santa Anna had said that Gadsden made propositions regarding "Baja California, part of Chihuahua and Sonora", in the later version he added Sinaloa and part of Durango. He remarked here, also, that Gadsden's threat to the effect that his government would resort to force in case Mexico persisted in refusing to part with territory, was made at a moment when the envoy was angry at the tenacity with which the Mexican negotiators supported their contentions.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ See *El Universal*, 25 de enero de 1853, *et seq.*; *El Siglo XIX*, 26 de enero de 1853, *et seq.*

⁹⁰ For an English translation of these statements of Santa Anna, see *The South-western Historical Quarterly*, XXIV. No. 3 (January, 1921), 235 ff.

Since this version of the negotiations has been accepted by some of the leading historians of Mexico,⁹¹ the concluding paragraphs of this paper may appropriately be given to an examination of the matter in the light of the documents now available. It will be noted that, according to this view, two charges are preferred against the United States government: (1) it occupied the territory in dispute prior to Santa Anna's decision to sell the region in question, and (2), it concentrated forces on the Rio Grande with the purpose of intimidating Mexico and compelling a cession of territory. The whole truth will not be known, of course, until all the Gadsden correspondence has been revealed, as well as all of the orders issued to the military commanders on the southern frontier; but the evidence now available renders the first charge in this version of the matter highly improbable. Reference has already been made to Marcy's decision that the territory in dispute should remain just as it was prior to the occurrence of the disagreement. It has been seen, also, that the region in question had probably not been occupied before Lane's removal from office, that Merriwether was instructed not to take any steps toward occupying the territory, even if upon his arrival he should find Mexican troops on the ground; and that Garland, who superseded Sumner as commander of the forces of the United States in the region, was handed a copy of Merriwether's instructions for his guidance. These facts seem to indicate the absence of any intention on the part of the United States to occupy the disputed section; and apparently there was no change of purpose prior to the completion of the negotiations which resulted in the Gadsden treaty.

In the first letter written from his post of duty, Merriwether remarked that there were about thirty Mexican soliders in the disputed territory, and that rumor had it that there were many more on their way, but he made not the slightest reference

⁹¹ See, for instance, Vicente Riva Palacio, *México a través de los Siglos* (Barcelona, 1888-1889), IV. 812, 916; Niceto de Zamacois, *Historia de Méjico* (Mexico, 1877-1882), XIII. 663-664, 776; Francisco de Paula de Arrangois y Berzábal, *México desde 1808 hasta 1867* (Madrid, 1871-1872), II. 344; Ignacio Álvarez, *Estudios sobre la Historia de México* (Zacatecas, 1869-1877), VI. 75-76.

to United States troops being stationed there.⁹² In his dispatch of August 31, he confirmed his previous view of the situation, but maintained the same significant silence regarding the forces of the United States.⁹³ Although no letter of Merriwether's written during September or October has been seen, the communication of Gadsden (dated October 8, 1853) to the military officer commanding in New Mexico, which informed him that an agreement to leave the territory in *statu quo* had been made but gave no directions as to the removal of troops, appears to be strong evidence that no news regarding an occupation on the part of United States forces had reached the American Minister up to this time.⁹⁴ Lastly a letter from Merriwether to Marcy, dated November 14, indicates that such action had not yet been taken. Merriwether asked for instructions regarding a criminal who had escaped to the disputed region. He said, he feared that if he asked the governor of Chihuahua for the culprit, his request might be construed into an acknowledgment of the possession of the section by that state, and that an attempt at forcible seizure might "precipitate matters more than it is [was] desirable to the government at Washington".⁹⁵ Since the report of subsequent occupation could hardly have reached Mexico City in time to effect the Gadsden negotiations, the conclusion seems warranted that the first charge preferred against the United States by Santa Anna is false.

The second charge, however, apparently rests upon a firmer basis. It may be at least a half truth; it seems pretty certain that the United States did increase its forces on the southwestern frontier. Moreover, this augmentation may have been designed to intimidate Mexico into a favorable settlement of the points at issue. The concluding paragraph of Merriwether's letter of November 14 gives some indication of such a purpose. He said:

At this time there is no military force in the disputed territory, the Mexicans having removed their small force some time since, and should

⁹² Merriwether to Marcy, August 13, 1853, State Department, B.I.A.

⁹³ Same to same, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁴ State Department, B.I.A.

⁹⁵ State Department, B.I.A.

the general government desire to precipitate matters this will afford an opportunity [sic] of so doing.

The fact that troops were concentrated on the frontier would not, however, necessarily imply an intention on the part of the United States government to resort to force in order to settle the dispute; they could have been sent for the purpose of dealing with the Indian situation in New Mexico which was sufficiently grave to justify the step, or as a counter move against the reported concentration of Mexican troops on the northern frontier.

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ROYAL ORDINANCES CONCERNING THE LAYING OUT OF NEW TOWNS

To those who, like the writer, have observed the uniformity of the plans of so many Hispano-American cities and enjoyed the beauty of their central plazas filled with trees and flowers and surrounded by public buildings, and their picturesque churches, the following ordinances concerning the laying out of towns in the New World, issued by King Philip II. from the Escorial in 1573 can not but be of interest.

These ordinances are contained in the voluminous royal decree entitled: "Ordinances concerning discoveries, settlements, and pacifications", which remarkable document I came across in the National Archives in Madrid in 1912. Being particularly impressed by the wisdom and foresight revealed in the set of ordinances relating to the choice of the sites and the laying out of new towns, I copied these for future reference and use and am now pleased to present to the readers of *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* so interesting a legacy from the past.

It seems more than probable that these ordinances issued by the painstaking monarch were the outcome of long discussions with the group of the foremost architects, engineers, and learned men of his time whom he assembled about him at his court when the palace of the Escorial was in process of construction. It is obvious that the plan he prescribed was an ideal one which embodied all advantages from the various points of view of artists, churchmen, engineers, architects, strategists, meteorologists, and hygienists. No feature that could ensure the beauty, commodiousness, and salubrity of a town seems to have been overlooked.

On the one hand minute directions are given concerning the proportions and size of the main square which was to form the nucleus of every town; to furnish a plan of recreation for its

inhabitants; and to be surrounded by stately public buildings, shops, and commercial houses only lined with an arcade. Four main streets, also lined with arcades, were to extend from the middle of each of the sides of the square, while two minor streets were to converge at each of its corners. These were to face the cardinal points so that the main streets leading to the square should not be exposed to the four principal winds "which would cause much inconvenience". The parish church and monasteries were to occupy entire blocks, the only buildings permitted near them being such as would add to their ornamentation or commodiousness.

The site of the parish church of a coast town was to be chosen, preferably on an elevation, so that it would be visible to those who landed and could also serve as an additional means of defense for a port. On the other hand it is a surprising revelation to find that each town was to support two hospitals. One of these, for the poor suffering from non-contagious diseases was to be built within the cloister or enclosure of the church. The other, for those stricken with contagious diseases, was to be built, if possible, on elevated ground and so placed that the prevailing winds passing over it would not convey hurt to the inhabitants of the rest of the town.

Sea ports were to be oriented according to the prevailing winds. The sea was not to lie at their south or west. If possible they were not to be near lagoons and swamps in which venomous animals [mosquitoes?] breed and which corrupt the air and water.

All fisheries, slaughterhouses, tanneries, and other industries producing filthy refuse were to be relegated below the town to seashore or river bank where the refuse could be conveniently disposed of and where the prevailing wind would carry away the evil smells. A wise order, intended to ensure the comfort of their inhabitants, is one directing that while in cool climates streets were to be wide, in hot countries they were to be narrow so that they would always be shaded and cool.

When one considers the haphazard way most North American towns have sprung up without a thought being given to their future beauty or sightliness, commodiousness, salubrity, or

growth, one can not but regretfully realize what opportunities have been lost, and what a benefit it would have been if, throughout the New World, King Philip's ordinances had been known and followed. As it is, they constitute what was probably the most remarkable attempt ever made to formulate principles of town planning and to impose their execution, *pro bono publico*, on the pioneers of a New World whose descendants to this day have good reason to be grateful to their authors, the Spanish king and his counselors.

ZELIA NUTTALL.

REAL ORDENANZAS PARA NUEVAS POBLACIONES, ETC.¹

San Lorenzo, 3 de Julio 1573. Yo el Rey. Ordenanzas para descubririmientos, nuevas poblaciones y pacificaciones.

110. . . . Aviendo hecho el descubrimiento elegido de la Provincia Comarca y tierra que se oviere de poblar y los sitios de los lugares adonde se han de hazer las nuebas poblaciones y tomandose el assiento sobre ellos, los que fueren a cumplirlo executen en la forma siguiente = llegando al lugar donde se a de hazer la poblacion el qual mandamos que sea de los que estuvieren vacantes y que por disposicion ñra se puede tomar sin perjuicio de los yndios y naturales, o con su libre consentimiento se haga la planta del lugar rrepartiendola por sus plaças calles y solares a cordel y rregla, començando desde la plaça mayor, y desde alli sacando las calles a las puertas y caminos principales y dexando tanto compas abierto que aunque la poblacion vaya en crecimiento se pueda siempre prosseguir en la mesma forma, y auiendo dispusicion en el sitio y lugar que se escogiere para poblar se haga la planta en la forma siguiente.

111. Auiendo Hecho la Eleçion del sitio adonde se ha de hazer la poblacion que como esta dicho a de ser en lugares lebantados, a donde aya sanidad fortaleza fertilidad y copia de tierra de labor y pasto, leña y madera y materiales, aguas dulces, gente natural, comodidad, acarretos, entrada y salida, que este descubierto de viento norte, siendo en costa tengase consideracion al puerto y que no tenga al mar al medio dia ni al poniente si fuere possible no tenga cerca de si lagunas ni pantanos en que se crien animales venenossos y corrupcion de ayre y aguas.

¹ Pressmark: "MS. 3017. Bulas y Cedula para el Gobierno de las Indias."

112. La Praça mior de donde se a de començar la poblacion siendo en costa de mar se deue hazer al desembarcadero del puerto y siendo en lugar mediterraneo, en medio de la poblacion. La plaza sea en cuadro prolongado que por lo menos tenga de largo una vez y media de su ancho porque este tamaño es el mejor para las fiestas de a cavallo y qualesquier otras que se ayan de hazer.

113. La grandeza de la plaza sea proporcionada a la cantidad de los vezinos teniendo consideracion que en las poblaciones de yndios como son nuebas se van y es con yntento de que an de ir en augmento y anssi se hara la Eleccion de la plaza teniendo rrespecto a que la poblacion puede crecer, no sea menor que de duçientos pies en ancho y treçientos en largo, ni mayor de ochocientos pies de largo y treinta y dos [sic] de ancho de mediana y de buena proporcion es de seysçientos pies de largo y quatroçientos de ancho.

114. De la plaza salgan quatro calles principales una por medio de cada costado de la plaza y dos calles por cada esquina de la plaza, las quatro esquinas de la plaza miren a los quatro vientos principales, porque desta manera saliendo las calles de la plaza no estan expuestas a los quatro vientos principales que seria de mucho ynconveniente.

115. Toda la plaza a la rredonda y las quatro calles principales que dellas salen tengan portales, porque son de mucha comodidad para los tratantes que aqui suelen concurrir, las ocho calles que salen de la plaza por las quatro esquinas lleguen libres a la plaza sin encontrarse con los portales retrayendoles de manera que hagan azera derecha con la calle y plaza.

116. Las calles en lugares frios sean anchas y en los calientes sean angostas, pero para defenssa adonde ay caualllos son mexores anchas.

117. Las calles se prossigan desde la plaza mior de manera que aunque la poblacion venga en mucho crecimiento no venga a dar en algun ynconveniente que sea caussa de afean lo que se houiere reedificado o perjudique su defenssa y comodidad.

118. A trechos de la poblacion se vayan formando plazas menores en buena proporcion adonde se an de edificar los templos de la yglesia mayor, parochias y monasterios de manera que todo se rreparta en buena proporcion por la dotrina.

119. Para el temple de la yglesia mior siendo la poblacion en costa se edifique en parte que en saliendo de la mar se vea y su fabrica que en parte sea como defenssa del mesmo puerto.

120. Para el templo de la yglesia mior parochia o monasterio se señalen solares, los primeros despues de la plaza y calles y sean en ysla

entera de manera que ningun edificio se le arrime sino el perteneciente a su comodidad y ornato.

121. Señalese luego sitio y lugar para la cassa Real de conçejo y cavildo y aduana y atarazana junto al mesmo templo y puerto de manera que en tiempo de neçessidad se puedan fauoreçer las unas alas otras. El ospital para pobres y enfermos de enfermedades que no sean contagiossas se ponga junto al templo y por claustro del, para los enfermos de enfermedades contagiossas se ponga el ospital en parte que ningun viento dañoso passando para el vaya a herir en la demas poblacion, y si se edificare en lugar leuantado sera mejor.

122. El sitio y solares para carniçerias, pescaderias, tenerias y otras cossas que se caussan ynmundiçias se den en parte que con facilidad se puedan conserbar sin ellas.

123. Las poblaciones que se hizieren fuera del puerto de mar en lugares mediterraneos si pudieren ser en ribera de rio navegable sera de mucha comodidad y procuresse que la ribera quede la parte del cierço y quede la parte del rrio y mar, baxa de la poblacion se pongan todos los ofçios que caussan ynmundiçias.

124. El templo en lugares mediterraneos no se ponga en la plaça sino distante della y en parte que este separado de edificio que a el se llegue que no sea tocante a el, y que de todas partes sea visto porque se puede ornar mejor y tenga mas authoridad, ase de procurar que sea algo leuantado del suelo de manera que se aya de entrar en el por gradas y çerca del entre la plaça mior y se edifiquen las cassas rreales y del conçejo y cauildo aduana no de manera que den embaraço al templo sino que lo authorizen, el ospital de los pobres que no fueren de enfermedad o contagiosa a la parte del çierço con comodidad suya de manera que goze del medio dia.

125. La mesma planta se guarde en qualquier lugar mediterraneo en que no aya ribera con que se mire mucho que aya las demas comodidades que se Requieren y son menester.

126. En la Plaça no se den solares para particulares donde para fabrica de la yglessia y cassas Reales y propios de la çiudad y edifiquense tiendas y cassas para tratantes y sea lo primero que se edifique para lo qual contribuyan todos los pobladores y se ymponga algun moderado derecho sobre las mercaderias para que se edifiquen.

127. Los demas solares se rrepartan por suerte á los poladores continuandolos a los que dellos corresponden a la plaça mior y los que restaren queden para nos para hazer mīd. dellos a los que despues fueren a poblar, o, lo que la nĩa mīd fuere, y para que se açierte mejor lleuase siempre hecha la planta de la poblacion que se ovieren de hazer.

128. Auiendo hecho la planta de la poblacion y rrepartimiento de solares cada vno de los pobladores en el suyo assienten su toldo si lo tuuiere para lo qual los capitanes les persuadan que los lleuen y los que no los tuuieren hagan su rrancho de materiales que con facilidad puedan auer, adonde se puedan rrecoger y todos con la mayor presteza que pudieren hagan alguna paliçada o trinchea en çerco de la plaça de manera que no puedan rreçiuir daño de los yndios naturales.

129. Señalese a la poblacion exido en tan competente cantidad que aunque la poblacion vaya en mucho crecimiento siempre quede bastante espacio adonde la gente se pueda salir a recrear y salir los ganados sin que hagan daño.

130. Confinando con los exidos se señalen dehessas para los buyes de labor y para los Cauillos y para los ganados de las carnicerías y para el numero ordinario de ganados que los pobladores por ordenança an de tener en alguna buena cantidad, mas para que se acojan para propios del conçejo y lo rrestante se señale en tierras de labor de que se hagan suertes en la cantidad que se ofregiere de manera que sean tantas como los solares que puede auer en la poblacion, y si ouiere tierras de regadio se haga dellas suertes y se repartan en la misma proporçion a los primeros pobladores por sus suertes y los demas queden para nos, para que hagamos mrd a los que despues fueren a poblar.

131. En las tierras de labor repartidas luego ynmediatamente siembren los pobladores todas las semillas que llebaren y pudieren auer, para lo qual conviene que vayan muy proueydos y en la dehessa señaladamente todo el ganado que llebaren y pudieren juntar para que luego se comience a criar y multiplicar.

132. Auiendo sembrado los pobladores y acomodado el ganado en tanta cantidad y con tan buena diligencia de que esperen aver abundancia de comida comiençen con mucho cuydado y valor a fundar sus cassas y edificar de buenos cimientos y paredes, para lo qual vayan aperçibidos de Tapiales ó tablas para los Hazer y todas las otras herramientas para edificar con brebedad y a poca costa.

133. Dispongan los solares y edificios que en ellos hizieren de manera que en la habitacion dellos se pueda gozar de los ayres de medio dia y del norte por ser los mejores disponganse los edificios de las cassas de toda la poblacion generalmente, de manera que sirban de defenssa y fuerça contra los que quissieren estorbar ó ynfestar la poblacion y cada cassa en particular la labren, de manera que en ella puedan tener sus cauillos y vestias de servicio con patios y corrales y con la mas anchura que fuere pussible para la salud y limpieza.

134. Procuren quanto fuere possible que los edificios sean de vna forma por el ornato de la poblacion.

135. Tenga cuidado de andar viendo como esto se cumple, los fieles executores y alarifes y las perssonas que para esto diputare el gouernador, y que se den priessa en la labor y edificio para que se acabe con brevedad la poblacion.

136. Si los naturales quissieren poner en defenssa de la poblacion se le de a entender como se quiere poblar alli no para hazerles algun mal ni tomarles sus haziendas sino para tomar amistad con ellos y enseñarlos a vivir politicamente y mostrarles a conocer á Dios y enseñarles su ley por lo qual se salbaran dandose á entender por medio de los religioossos y clerigos y perssonas que para ello diputareen gouernador y por buenas lenguas y procurando por todos los buenos medios possibles que la poblacion se haga con su paz y consentimiento, y si todavia no lo consintieren auiendoles requerido por los muchos medios diuerssas vezes los pobladores hagan su poblacion sin tomar de lo que fuere particular de los yndios, y sin hazerles mas daño del que fuere menester para defenssa de los pobladores y para que la poblacion [no] se estorbe.

137. Entretanto que la nueba poblacion ae acaua los pobladores en quanto fuere possible procuren evitar la comunicacion y trato con los yndios y de no yr a sus pueblos ni diuertirse ni derramarse por la tierra, ni que los yndios entren en el circuyto de la poblacion hasta tener hecha y puesta en defenssa y las cassas de manera que quando los yndios las vean les cause admiracion, y entiendan que los españoles pueblan alli de assiento y no de passo y los teman para no ossar ofender y rrespeten para dessear su amistad, y en començandose a hazer la poblacion, el gouernador reparta alguna persona que se ocupe en sembrar y cultivar la tierra de pan y legumbres de que luego se puedan socorrer para sus mantenimientos y que los ganados que metieren se apaçienten donde esten seguros y no hagan daño en heredad ni cossa de los yndios para que assi mesmo de los susodichos ganados y sus crias se puedan serbir socorrer y sustentar la poblacion. . . .

TRANSLATION

ROYAL ORDINANCES FOR NEW TOWNS, ETC.

San Lorenzo, July 3, 1573. I the King. Ordinances for discoveries, new settlements, and pacifications.

110. . . . Having made the chosen discovery of the province, district, and land which is to be settled, and the sites of the places where the new towns are to be made, and the agreement in regard to them having preceded, those who

go to execute this shall perform it in the following manner: On arriving at the place where the town is to be laid out (which we order to be one of those vacant and which by our ordinance may be taken without doing hurt to the indians and natives, or with their free consent), the plan of the place shall be determined, and its plazas, streets, and building lots laid out exactly, beginning with the main plaza. From thence the streets, gates, and principal roads, shall be laid out, always leaving a certain proportion of open space, so that although the town should continue to grow, it may always grow in the same manner. Having arranged the site and place that shall have been chosen for settlement, the foundation shall be made in the following manner.

111. Having chosen the place where the town is to be made, which as above-said must be located in an elevated place, where are to be found health, strength, fertility, and abundance of land for farming and pasturage, fuel and wood for building, materials, fresh water, a native people, commodiousness, supplies, entrance and departure open to the north wind. If the site lies along the coast, let consideration be had to the port and that the sea be not situated to the south or to the west. If possible, let there be no lagoons or marshes nearby in which are found venomous animals and corruption of air and water.

112. The main plaza whence a beginning is to be made, if the town is situated on the seacoast, should be made at the landing place of the port. If the town lies inland, the main plaza should be in the middle of the town. The plaza shall be of an oblong form, which shall have at the least a length equal to one and a half times the width, inasmuch as this size is the best for fiestas in which horses are used and for any other fiestas that shall be held.

113. The size of the plaza shall be proportioned to the number of the inhabitants, having consideration to the fact that in indian towns, inasmuch as they are new, the population will continue to increase, and it is the purpose that it shall increase. Consequently, the choice of a plaza shall be made with reference to the growth that the town may have. It shall be not less than two hundred feet wide and three hundred feet long, nor larger than eight hundred feet long and thirty two feet [*sic*] wide. A moderate and good proportion is six hundred feet long and four hundred feet wide.

114. From the plaza shall run four main streets, one from the middle of each side of the plaza; and two streets at each corner of the plaza. The four corners of the plaza shall face the four principal winds. For the streets running thus from the plaza, they will not be exposed to the four principal winds which cause much inconvenience.

115. The whole plaza round about, and the four streets running from the four sides shall have arcades, for these are of considerable convenience to the merchants who generally gather there. The eight streets running from the plaza at the four corners shall open on the plaza without any arcades and shall be so laid out that they may have sidewalks even with the street and plaza.

116. The streets in cold places shall be wide and in hot places narrow; but for purposes of defense, where horses are to be had, they are better wide.

117. The streets shall run from the main plaza in such wise that although the town increase considerably in size, no inconvenience may arise which may cause what may be rebuilt to become ugly or be prejudicial to its defense and commodiousness.

118. Here and there in the town smaller plazas shall be laid out, in good proportion, where are to be built the temples of the cathedral, the parish churches and the monasteries, such that everything may be distributed in good proportions for the instruction of religion.

119. As for the temple of the cathedral, if the town is situated on the coast, it shall be built in part so that it may be seen on leaving the sea, and in a place where its building may serve as a means of defense for the port itself.

120. For the temple of the cathedral, the parish church, or monastery, building lots shall be assigned, next after the plaza and streets and they shall be so completely isolated that no building shall be added there except one appertaining to its commodiousness and ornamentation.

121. After that a site and location shall be assigned for the royal council and cabildo house and for the custom house and arsenal near the temple and port itself so that in times of need the one may aid the other. The hospital for the poor and those sick of non-contagious diseases shall be built near the temple and its cloister; and that for those sick with contagious diseases shall be built in such a place that no harmful wind passing through it, may cause harm to the rest of the town. If the latter be built in an elevated place, so much the better.

122. The site and building lots for slaughter houses, fisheries, tanneries, and other things productive of filth shall be so placed that the filth can be easily disposed of.

123. It will be of considerable convenience if those towns which are laid out away from the port and inland be built if possible on the shores of a navigable river; and the attempt should be made to have the shore where it is reached by the cold north wind; and that all the trades that give rise to filth be placed on the side of the river and sea below the town.

124. The temple in inland towns shall not be placed on the plaza but distant from it and in such a place that it may be separated from any building which approaches it and which has no connection with it; and so that it may be seen from all parts. In order that it may be better embellished and have more authority, it must, if possible, be built somewhat elevated above the ground in order that steps will lead to its entrance. Nearby close to the main plaza shall be built the royal houses and the council and cabildo house, and the customs house so that they shall not cause any embarrassment to the temple but lend it authority. The hospital of the poor who shall be sick with non-contagious diseases, shall be built facing the cold north wind and so arranged that it may enjoy the south wind.

125. The same arrangement shall be observed in all inland places which have no shore provided that considerable care be given to providing the other conveniences which are required and which are necessary.

126. Building lots shall not be assigned to individual persons in the plaza where are placed the buildings of the church and royal houses and the public land of the city. Shops and houses shall be built for merchants and these shall be the first to be built and for this all the settlers of the town shall contribute, and a moderate tax shall be imposed on goods so that these buildings may be built.

127. The other building lots shall be distributed by lot to the settlers, those lots next to the main plaza being thus distributed and the lots which are left shall be held by us for assignment to those who shall later become settlers, or for the use which we may wish to make of them. And so that this may be done better, the town which is to be laid out should always be shown on a plan.

128. Having made the plan of the town and the assignment of building lots, each of the settlers shall set up his tent on his plot if he should have one. For this purpose the captains shall persuade them to carry tents. Those who do not possess tents shall build their huts of such materials that can be obtained easily, where they may have shelter. As soon as possible all settlers shall make some sort of a palisade or ditch about the plaza so that they may receive no harm from the indian natives.

129. A commons shall be assigned to the town of such size that although the town continues to grow, there may always be sufficient space for the people to go for recreation and for the cattle to be pastured without any danger.

130. Adjoining the commons there shall be assigned pastures for the work animals and for the horses as well as for the cattle belonging to the slaughter-houses and for the usual number of cattle which the settlers must have to some goodly number according to ordinance, and so that they may also be used as the common property of the council. The rest of the land shall be assigned as farm lands, of which lots shall be cast in proportion to the amount, so that there shall be as many farms as there are building lots in the town. And should there be irrigated lands, lots shall be cast for them, and they shall be distributed in the same proportion to the first settlers according to their lots. The rest shall remain for ourselves so that we may assign it to those who may become settlers.

131. The settlers shall immediately plant all the seeds they take with them and all that they can obtain on the farm lands after their distribution. For this purpose, it is advisable that they go well provided; and in the pastures especially all the cattle that they take with them and all that they can collect so that the cattle may begin to breed and multiply immediately.

132. The settlers having planted their seeds and made arrangements for the cattle to a goodly number, and with good diligence (from which they may hope to obtain abundance of food), shall commence with great care and activity to establish their houses and to build them with good foundations and walls. For that purpose they shall go provided with molds or planks for buildings them, and all the other tools for building quickly and at small cost.

133. They shall arrange the building lots and edifices placed thereon in such a manner that the rooms of the latter may enjoy the air of the south and north as these are the best. The buildings of the houses of the whole town generally shall be so arranged that they shall serve as a defense and fort against those who may try to disturb or invade the town. Each house in particular shall be so built that they may keep therein their horses and work animals, and shall have yards and corrals as large as possible for health and cleanliness.

134. They shall try so far as possible to have the buildings all of one form for the sake of the beauty of the town.

135. The faithful executors and architects and persons who may be deputed therefor by the governor shall be most careful in the performance of the above. They shall hurry the labor and building so that the town may be completed in a short time.

136. Should the natives care to place themselves under the defense of the town, they must be made to understand that it is desired to build a town there not in order to do them any harm nor to take their possessions from them, but to maintain friendship with them and to teach them to live in a civilized manner, to teach

them to know God, and to teach them His law, under which they shall be saved. This shall be imparted to them by the religious, ecclesiastical persons, and persons deputed therefor by the governor and by means of good interpreters. By means of all good methods possible, the attempt shall be made to have the town laid out with their goodwill and consent. However, should they not consent after having been summoned by various means on different occasions, the settlers shall lay out their town, but without taking anything that may belong in particular to the indians and without doing them other hurt than what may be necessary for the defense of the settlers and so that the town should [not] be molested.

137. Until the new town shall have been completed, the settlers shall try as much as possible to avoid communication and intercourse with the indians and shall not go to their towns and shall not amuse themselves nor give themselves up to sensual pleasures in the land. Neither shall the indians enter the precincts of the town until after it has been built and placd in a condition of defense, and the houses so built that when the indians see them they shall wonder and understand that the Spaniards settle there for good and not for the moment only; and so that they may fear them so much that they will not offend them and shall respect them so much as to desire their friendship. When they begin to build the town, the goveror shall assign some one person to take care of the sowing and cultivation of the land with wheat and vegetables of which the settlers may immediately make use for their maintenance. He shall also see that the cattle are put out to pasture where they shall be safe and where they shall cause no hurt to the cultivated land nor to anything belonging to the indians; and so that also the town may be served, aided, and sustained by the aforesaid cattle and their young. . . .

BOOK REVIEWS

Pan-Americanism: Its Beginnings. By JOSEPH BYRNE LOCKEY.
(New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920. Pp. 503.)

From the year 1741 until 1825 the course of the idea of a great union of the different divisions of the New World is traced by this volume, and the fact that the sympathy of leading men of North America was given to that idea, and that less widely known North Americans gave material support to it, is made clear by a mass of evidence from official records and from different publications.

A hundred and eighty years ago a conspiracy that started in Peru had branches in Buenos Aires and in Chile, in New Granada and in Venezuela. Its purpose was to make all America independent of Spanish rule. It had the support of Creoles, of Spaniards, and of the Jesuits also. A similar blow for freedom was planned in Mexico at the same time. Great Britain was asked to help the movement, and steps were taken to lend aid. For some reason the project was laid aside.

A conspiracy to overthrow monarchy in Brazil existed in 1787, and in a letter one of the leading spirits wrote to Thomas Jefferson, then United States Minister at Paris, to ask for help from the young republic, "because it is necessary that the colony should obtain assistance from some power, and the United States alone could be looked to with propriety, 'because nature in making us inhabitants of the same continent has in some sort united us in the bonds of a common patriotism'."

In that letter Señor Maia may have given the first clear expression of the thought that the basic idea of all civilized peoples of America was in essence the same: equal opportunity for each people to live its own chosen way, so far as this would trespass upon no like right of others; freedom also from monarchical monopoly of privileges, of power or of riches.

In 1797 Francisco de Miranda was authorized, by a junta of Spanish Americans in Paris, to direct a general movement for the independence of Spanish America. He sought help of Great Britain and the United States. The latter showed, unofficially, sympathy with the movement, and its citizens helped form an expeditionary force, which sailed from this country in 1806. Miranda was captured in Venezuela in 1812, and sent to Spain to die in prison.

Fifty pages of Lockey's volume are devoted to early projects for continental union, and furnish evidence enough to show that the Pan-American idea had at all times the sympathy of the people of the United States, and usually material aid also from them. It seems obvious that credit for this idea of a union of all peoples of the New World may well be given to Hispanic Americans.

Lockey says of the meaning of the terms Pan-American and Pan-Americanism:

The adjective, Pan-American, and the substantive, Pan-Americanism, were soon taken up and defined by the dictionaries; but the definitions are not satisfactory. The adjective is usually defined as including or pertaining to the whole of America, both North and South; which is inaccurate, as it pertains, by common usage, to the independent part of the continent only.

After quoting five or six dictionaries and encyclopedias he gives the definition from the second supplement of the *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano* as the

Aspiration or tendency of the peoples of the New World to establish among themselves ties of union; to promote good understanding and fraternal harmony between all the states of the continent; and to act always in accord with a view to preventing the dominance or the influence of European powers in American territory.

Thirty-one pages of the work are given to this subject, and quote many statesmen to show what Pan-Americanism meant to them.

Other chapters tell of monarchial plots against America, before 1830; of the relations between Hispanic America and the United States; of international complications; of the attitude of Hispanic America toward the Monroe Doctrine; of British influence, of the Panama Congress of 1826, and of the attitudes of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and the United States. Finally more than fifteen pages are filled by a list of sources, chiefly printed, from which data are taken for this valuable work. Altogether it should be very useful for those who would advocate the extension of Pan-Americanism.

EDWARD PERRY.

Simón Bolívar (el Libertador), patriot, warrior, statesman, father of five nations; a sketch of his life and work. BY GUILLERMO A. SHERWELL. (Washington, D. C.; 1921. Pp. 233. Front., ports., plates, map.)

Dr. Sherwell, juristic expert of the International High Commission and a prominent educator, has in the above named work given us a very sympathetic sketch of the life works and remarkable personality

of the great Liberator. With respect to the purpose and plan of his work the author says:

To follow a chronological order we have been guided by the beautiful biography written by Larrazábal, the man called by F. Lorain Petre 'the greatest flatterer of Bolívar'. . . . Petre's monograph contains apparent earmarks of impartiality, but in reality it is nothing but a bitter attack on the reputation of Bolívar.

The subject matter is arranged in 21 chapters, an introductory chapter on the Spanish colonies in America and a concluding section on the man and his work. A most valuable feature of the work is the inclusion of lengthy extracts from the addresses, or writings of Bolívar. The illustrative matter, portraits, and map, add notably to its value.

The material available to English readers on Hispanic American history and especially regarding the great political, military, and literary leaders is, unfortunately, exceedingly limited. From this point of view, we have further reason for appreciating Dr. Sherwell's work which he has written in English instead of increasing the extensive bibliography of Bolívar by another monograph in Spanish. The time of its appearance, too, when attention is called to the work of the great Venezuelan by the celebration in New York, is most opportune.

C. K. JONES.

Documentos para la Historia Argentina. Tomo XIII. Comunicaciones Oficiales y Confidenciales de Gobierno (1820-1823). Con advertencia de EMILIO RAVIGNANI. Published by the History Section of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires. (Buenos Aires; 1920. Pp. XI, 371. Indexes. Paper.)

The Ministry of Foreign Relations of the Argentine Republic possesses valuable archives which, heretofore, have not been readily accessible to the public. In Volume XIII. of its series of Documents for Argentine History, the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the National University of Buenos Aires has just published the contents of a record book preserved in these archives. It was facilitated by Sr. Don Diego Luis Molinari, sub-secretary of Foreign Relations. The Faculty's History Section had determined upon the publication of these documents under the directorship of Dr. Luis María Torres; it has been carried into effect under his successor, Dr. Emilio Ravignani, who, in a foreword, acknowledges Sr. Molinari's service in rendering accessible the treasures of the Ministry's archives, a service to which

he is presently to add another in the study of the papers now published in Volume XIII., which study the History Section will include in its series of monographs. The documents of Volume XIII. concern domestic developments during the administration of Martín Rodríguez, from the year 1820—that is, forward from the crisis precipitated by the province of Buenos Aires in its insistence upon autonomy.

The appearance of this volume is of special interest, not only because of the value of the material for history which it puts into circulation, but also because of the successful progress it indicates in the Faculty's activities. Whereas the earlier publications of the Faculty concerned other matters, those of late years have had to do with the viceroyalty, that is, with the colonial era which preceded that of independence, and, apparently, it was the intention to continue along the single line of chronological order. When Sr. Molinari threw open the door of the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Relations the temptation became too great to resist, and it was desired also to contribute to that period which culminated in the constitution of 1853, and the Faculty has harked back to its three volumes, issued in 1911 and 1912, under the title of *Documentos relativos a la Organización Constitucional de la República Argentina*. The archives of the Ministry are to be levied upon for further contributions to the history of that formative period, and so also are the provincial archives of the Republic, which the Faculty has by no means overlooked in investigations which it has already made. Nevertheless, the colonial era of the viceroyalty is to be neither abandoned nor even neglected. Work there will continue, in evidence of which the Faculty announces, for instance, a *Relación descriptiva de los Mapas, Planos, etc., del Virreinato de Buenos Aires existentes en el Archivo General de Indias*, second edition, prepared by Sr. Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, director of those archives, in Seville. Simultaneously, however, other work will now be carried on in later periods. Volumes are announced (Volume XIV., *Correspondencia General de la Provincia de Buenos Aires* relative to Foreign Relations, 1820–1823; Volume XV., The Federal Pact of January 4, 1831, and the Representative Commission) which will interlock with the earlier publications of the Faculty.

Here appears the value of possessing such a carefully considered, substantial plan for a large undertaking, as that to which the Faculty committed itself years past: since there is a definite plan, or pattern, a thread ("the organization of the Argentine Republic") dropped some time ago, can be picked up, and the design continued without difficulty

or loss. Since there is such a definite plan, it can be attacked intelligently from more than one point, at the same time, without danger of duplication, derangement, or omission. This intensification of the Faculty's industry and increase in its output, announced by Dr. Ravignani in the introduction to Volume XIII., have been made possible by financial support which has just been voted by a national government which, evidently, appreciates the fact (especially patent to students of these matters) that the History Section's labors merit all possible support.

I. A. WRIGHT.

The Discovery of America and the Landfall of Columbus. The last Resting Place of Columbus. Two monographs based on personal investigations by RUDOLF CRONAU, with Reproduction of Maps, Inscriptions and Autographs, and of original Drawings by the Author; (New York: Published by R. Cronau, 140 East 198th Street, 1921. Pp. 89. Special edition of 300 copies. \$5.00)

Has the age-long question as to the Landfall of Columbus in the new world been settled? The reader of the first essay in Mr. Cronau's book will incline to answer in the affirmative, if he accept the evidence adduced as trustworthy. The author's conclusions are based on personal investigations made for the purpose of studying this vexed question. Throughout he checks up his investigations with the journal of Columbus as preserved by Las Casas, and is quite satisfied that the island today known as Watling's Island is the island of Guanahani or San Salvador. He concludes that "if the beach under Riding Rock Point on the west coast be accepted as the landfall of Columbus, and if from that place we follow the track of the Admiral through the Bahamas to Cuba, the log-book of Columbus has no such contradictions or inexplicable passages as confronted all other scholars who tried to solve the Guanahani-Question. These difficulties were but natural, as it was impossible that the statements of the log-book could fit if the landing place was sought at a false spot. *The absolute conformity of the descriptions, as given by Columbus, with the still existing conditions and facts, proves that the Admiral in making the entries in his journal not only observed with great care, but very often went into details*". In his proof, the author relies somewhat on Juan de la Cosa's famous map, as well as other maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He makes the common error of saying that Cosa's map was drawn on an oxhide,—an error to which Stevenson calls attention in the letterpress

accompanying his reproduction of that map. Granted that Cosa's map represents fairly well the region under discussion, and the nomenclature of the period, the Agnese map proves nothing, as it is the product of professional map makers and not of explorers and is erroneous in more than one particular. The Ribero map of 1529, however, is a creditable map, but it is doubtful whether it or the other maps really prove anything in the present instance. In connection with this essay, the essay published in the February, 1919, issue of *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* entitled "On the possibility of determining the first landfall of Columbus by archaeological research," and written by Theodoor de Booy, should be read.

The essay on the last resting place of Columbus describes the investigations made by the author in 1890 in the cathedral of the city of Santo Domingo, under credentials from the German government. He made there a complete examination, fully attested, of the coffin and remains said to be those of Columbus, and reproduces in his essay all the inscriptions, which he discusses at length. There appears to be no doubt that the real tomb of the great discoverer is in America and not in Seville under the costly mausoleum erected in the Cathedral of that city.

Both essays attest to the perennial interest that attaches to Columbus. The diction at times reveals that the native language of the author is not that in which the essays are printed. The maps and illustrations are clear.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Colccción General de Documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla. Publicada por La Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinos. Tomo IV (1522-1524). (Barcelona: Imprenta de la Viuda de Luis Tasso, 1921. Pp. viii, 380, (3). Paper 15 pesetas.)

The fourth volume of this carefully edited series maintains the high standard of excellence set by the three preceding volumes. According to the colophon, the printing of this volume was finished on May 21, 1921, which is considerably beyond the time when it should have appeared. The delay has been due, undoubtedly, to the disjointed times. Indeed, as intimated in the reviews of the preceding volumes, the publication of a series of this character has necessitated on the part of its publisher a vast amount of fortitude, for which the present reviewer can find only words of praise.

This contribution contains series documents nos. 127 to 194 inclusive. In general, it contains materials relative to the Magellan and Loaisa expeditions, the projected expedition of Esteban Gómez (who deserted Magellan in the Straits), to "Catayo Oriental", negotiations between Spain and Portugal with respect to the Moluccas and the Line of Demarcation, trade matters, and questions growing out of these. Here is found interesting and useful information bearing upon the early pilots, navigators, Spanish royal officials, the new problems of colonization appearing upon the Spanish horizon, and a multitude of other things that were combining to make of Spain the foremost nation of the day. Valuable biographical data are given, of special interest being the documents relating to that much execrated man, Esteban Gómez; to the famous and much discussed Sebastian Cabot; to Ruy Faleiro, who was to have accompanied Magellan as an equal, but who at the last moment was left behind as one demented; to Diego Díaz, factor of the powerful Cristóbal de Haro; to Bishop Fonseca, who exerted considerable influence on Spanish policy; to Diego Barbosa; and to others.

Side by side with expeditions, trade, political matters of high import, we are bidden to behold the arrangements for the marriage of King João of Portugal to the Spanish Infanta Doña Leonor, itself a part of a political game. In other documents, it is shown how the port of Coruña took on added importance as an outpost lying nearest to the new lands discovered or to be discovered within Spanish demarcation. The little frontier town of Badajoz comes into the limelight because of the Spanish-Portuguese negotiations carried on there in regard to the new lands. Throughout, we note in these documents the expanding world of the sixteenth century and the preparing of the stage for the present age. Very clearly do these valuable documents show us a Spain at its best—a nation bursting with energy, a people looking beyond the narrow confines of its home into a new world yet largely unknown, a country filled with ardent youths eager to venture themselves in the fascinating game of fame and fortune. We are in the midst here of a turmoil partly intellectual, that had grown greater with the years succeeding the voyage of Columbus.

Of the sixty-eight documents of this volume, only twenty-three have been previously published. Document 128 "Royal cedula stating the conditions for making contracts with those merchants who desire to have an interest in the Spicery fleets" (Valladolid, November 13, 1522), was published by Navarrete and Torres de Mendoza;

Doc. 132, "Anonymous undated memorial relative to the advisability of establishing the Spicery business at Coruña," by Navarrete; doc. 141, "Instructions issued by Carlos I. to his ambassadors relative to the proposals they are to make in his name to the king of Portugal about the Moluccas and the Spicery trade" (Valladolid, February 4, 1523), by Navarrete; doc. 147, "Letter of Ruy Faleiro to his majesty reciting that proposals have been made to him to return to Portugal, and petitioning that he be paid his salary and authorized to outfit a ship at his own expense" (Seville, March 22, 1523); by Medina; doc. 148, "Letter of Rodrigo Faleiro to his majesty indicating the advisability of annually sending fleets to the Indies, and petitioning that his salary be paid" (March 22, 1523), by Medina; doc. 149, "Contract made with the pilot Esteban Gómez for the discovery of East Cathay," (Valladolid, March 27, 1523); by Torres de Mendoza; doc. 156, "Evidence taken on petition of Simón de Burgos to prove that he was not a Portuguese but a citizen of Ciudad Rodrigo" (Coria, June 9, 1523), by Medina; doc. 162, "Letter of the emperor to D. Juan de Zúñiga, his ambassador in Portugal, informing him of negotiations with the envoys of that kingdom who came to Castilla to demand the ownership of the Moluccas" (Pamplona, December 18, 1523), by Navarrete; doc. 163, "Letter of Carlos I. to the king of Portugal, complaining that his ambassadors have not accepted the proposals made them with respect to the Moluccas" (Pamplona, December, 1523), by Navarrete; doc. 166, "Memorial addressed to the king by Diego Barbosa relative to certain events of the Magellan expedition and the means of carrying on the spice trade to the best profit" (1523), by Navarrete and Medina, as are all the following documents, except doc. 190, which was published by Navarrete alone, and doc. 194, by Medina alone; doc. 169, "Treaty of Victoria for the Junta of Badajoz" (Victoria, February 19, 1524); docs. 172, 173, and 174, royal cédulas appointing deputies and other officials to attend the Junta of Badajoz (Burgos, March 20 and 21, 1524); docs. 179, 180, and 181, royal cédulas giving directions to the deputies and other officials at the Junta of Badajoz (Burgos, April 10, 1524); doc. 185, "Signed opinion of Don Hernando Colón, with respect to the demarcation of the Ocean Sea" (Badajoz, April 13, 1524); doc. 186, "Opinion of Fray Tomás Durán, Sebastián Caboto, and Juan Vespucci, relative to the line of demarcation of the ocean sea" (Badajoz, April 15, 1524); doc. 190, a signed opinion by Hernando Colón on the same matter (Badajoz, April 27, 1524); docs. 190 and 193, royal cédulas addressed to the Spanish deputies and com-

missioners at the Junta of Badajoz (Burgos, May 7, 1524); and doc. 194, "Information educed at the request of Dr. Bernardino de Ribera to prove the right of the kings of Castile to the possession of the Molucas (Badajoz, May 23, 1524). The editor states in his preliminary notes that an extract of docs. 141 and 162 were published (English translation) in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*. He should have noted also that documents 169, 179, 180, 181, 185, 186, 190, and 193 are also reproduced in English translation in whole or in part in the same work.

The unpublished documents are naturally not of equal importance. Doc. 127, (Valladolid, November 6, 1522) consists of the "Instructions to Nicolás de Artieta, Diego de Cobarrubias, and Esteban Gómez for the preparation of the spicery fleet of which García de Loaisa went as captain". Other previously unpublished documents relative to the Loaisa expedition are nos. 136, 138, 142, 160, 165, and 167. The Magellan expedition and matters arising therefrom are treated in docs. 129, 130, 131, 135, 137, 139, 155, 156, and 164. The aspirations of Coruña to become a trade center are seen in docs. 133, 134, and 142. Doc. 140 is an authorization given by Carlos I. to Dr. Cabrero and Cristóbal Barroso to discuss matters relating to the Moluccas with the Portuguese monarch and to make arrangements for the marriage of the latter to Doña Leonors. Docs. 143 and 144 concern Ruy Faleiro or his kinsmen; docs. 145, 158, and 161, Sebastian Cabot; and docs. 146, 150-154, and 157, Esteban Gómez. Doc. 159 is a royal decree dated Valladolid, August 25, 1523, directing the officials of the house of trade to pay Juan de Aranda the sum of 19,000 maravedis annually for the needs of Juan Cermeño, an Indian from the Moluccas. The Junta de Badajoz forms the principal theme of docs. 168, 170, 175-178, 182-184, 187-189. Doc. 171, is a letter of March 10, 1524, from the royal officials of Santo Domingo relative to Gil González Dávila, who was to make a voyage for the discovery of the straits. Doc. 191, dated La Puebla, May 7, 1524, is a letter from Pedro Suárez de Castilla and Domingo de Ochandiano to the effect that the treaty between the kings of Spain and Portugal exists in Seville only in copies.

The volume is a creditable production. The notes which precede the documents are only explanatory of the documents and not historical or explanatory of subject matter. They show the care with which the editor has tried to locate all the documents in the Archivo de Indias of which others have spoken.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Moseteno Vocabulary and Treatises. By BENIGNO BIBOLOTI, Priest of the Franciscan Mission of Inmaculada Concepción de Covendo in Bolivia. From an Unpublished Manuscript in possession of Northwestern University Library. With an Introduction by Rudolph Schuller, formerly of the Museu Goeldi, Pará, Brazil. (Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University, 1917. Pp. cxiii, 140, (1).)

Mr. Schuller, who has published a number of studies on early American subjects, and who has delved deeply into the early cartography of America, discovered the Biboloti Manuscript while arranging and collating the manuscripts acquired by Dr. Walter Lichtenstein, formerly librarian of Northwestern University and professor in the faculty of history of that institution. Recognizing its value as a contribution to the aboriginal languages of South America, Mr. Schuller recommended the publication of the manuscript. Mr. James A. Patten, president of the Board of Trustees of Northwestern University became interested in the vocabulary and treatises and furnished the funds necessary for their publication. However, the severance of diplomatic relations between this country and Austria made it necessary for Mr. Schuller to leave the United States before the task of editing the manuscript was completed. In taking up his work, the rough draft of the linguistic part of the introduction, was, in accordance with the advice of Professor Franz Boaz, of Columbia University, revised by Dr. Truman Mickelson of the Bureau of American Ethnology, while the historical part was revised by Dr. Lichtenstein and Professor George Edward. In the revision of Mr. Schuller's work, an English translation of the vocabulary of Father Biboloti made by Mr. Schuller, was omitted, and the author's errors which had been corrected by Mr. Schuller were restored, so that the published version corresponds to the manuscript.

Professor Boaz said of Dr. Schuller's work that although his grammar of the Moseteno tongue, as given in the introduction, is not complete, yet it is much more complete than any previously known. The Moseteno Indians of Bolivia, as explained by Mr. Schuller, have almost disappeared and the remnant is destined to become absorbed into other tribes by the process of amalgamation, due to the advance of modern civilization and the "fact that the primitive cis-Andine fishing and hunting tribes have little capacity for resistance". The introduction describes the manuscript, gives a sketch (as much as is known) of Father Biboloti, and shows the connection of the Moseteno Indians

with the Franciscans. These are followed by a critical analysis of previous writings on the Moseteno language, by various vocabularies, and by the grammar, which form Mr. Schuller's special contribution. The introduction is concluded by three apendices, namely: Bresson's plagiarisms (1886) of Weddel" (1853)¹; an "Estado eclesiástico del Arzobispado de la Plata" (1875); and a Bibliography of MSS. and of Printed Sources, consisting of six pages and forming a useful contribution.

The text of Biboloti's Manuscript follows the long introduction. The "Vocabulario Español-Musetano" [*sic*] consists of a list of Spanish words with their Moseteno equivalents. This is followed by phrases and treatises in the Moseteno language.

The volume is one for specialists and for that reason will appeal to a limited audience. The introduction is perhaps the most valuable part of the work, and is undoubtedly a contribution to American linguistics. Considerable credit is due to Dr. Lichtenstein, as well as to the other specialists who took up the work where Mr. Schuller left it, and who worked over his notes which had been left in a rather chaotic condition. No pains were spared in making this a presentable volume, and in its outward appearance, it is one in which the University and its special sponsor can take pride. Indeed, a business house could hardly afford to publish a volume of this nature with the hope of making it pay. It stands, however, as a tribute to pure scholarship, and will be referred to frequently by writers on the Indian language of South America.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

The Italian Emigration of our Times. By ROBERT F. FOERSTER, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Social Ethics in Harvard University (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1919. Pp. xx, 558. \$2.00)

A reviewer might well be excused for applying the term "magnificent" to this careful and scholarly work. Professor Foerster has given to sociologist, to economist, and to historian an illuminating

¹ Bresson's book above mentioned is entitled: *Bolivia. Sept Années d'explorations, de voyages et de séjours dans l'Amérique Australe*, Paris, 1886; and that of Weddel, *Voyage dans le Nord de la Bolivie et dans les parties voisines du Pérou ou visite au district aurifère de Tipuani*, Paris and London, 1853. The passages showing the similarity of Bresson to Weddel sufficiently prove the charge of plagiarism.

treatise on the most stupendous emigration of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—an emigration, which, notwithstanding the temporary interruption caused by the European War and the present reconstruction period with its immigration laws, may be said to be yet in full swing. In making his study, the author has been actuated by a praiseworthy motive, as shown by the opening sentence of his preface; “A world engrossed as never before with defining the rights and obligations of nationalities and with mitigating the causes of national and international discord cannot afford to ignore the fertile field for study presented by the great migrations of the day”. This is manifestly a modern work treated in a modern manner, and its findings are of value in the problems of various nations because of the presence in them of Italian immigrants.

The book is divided into four parts, namely: “Main currents”, of two chapters; “Causes”, of five chapters; “In foreign lands”, of thirteen chapters; and “Italy among the nations”, of four chapters. In the earlier and later chapters, the Italian national factors are well brought out—the social conditions of Italy, the need for emigration, the Italian government’s recognition of that need, the effect on Italy of returned emigrants, and other factors. The third part discusses emigration to France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, other countries of Europe and North Africa, Argentina, Brazil, and the United States. Throughout these chapters, one is led to a comparison as to the effects of the immigration into the several countries. In each country, the part played by the Italian in its industrial upbuilding is shown, and everywhere, both the women and the men of that remarkable race, with their power of thrift and saving, and their uncomplaining attitude toward tasks and remuneration against which the people of almost every other race would protest, have made a record that has no counterpart among any other class of emigrant peoples. Occasionally the Italian emigrant has risen to fame and fortune, and more often to a competency, in his new home. On the other hand his health has often been jeopardized if not impaired, and his moral status has frequently suffered. Curiously enough, in the United States, Italian emigrants have not uncommonly turned away from their ancestral religion and embraced another faith.

Chapters thirteen and fourteen discuss Italian emigration to Argentina, and the new life there, and the following two chapters do the same for Brazil. No other Hispanic American country is discussed at length, although the emigration to Chile is mentioned briefly. It would have

been desirable had the volume been made to include the last mentioned country, for Italian immigration there has not been unimportant. The four chapters form valuable contributions to the study of population in Argentina and Brazil, and can be used in the classroom.

In the former country, although some Italians had entered before 1860, the great influx came after that date. The immigration law of 1876, which was remarkably broad, stimulated Italian immigration as well as that of other peoples. In 1895, for instance, the foreign born (1,004,527) among the population of Argentina formed over a quarter of the inhabitants. In their new home, the Italians, who with their children and grandchildren, today number about 2,000,000, engaged in agriculture, and in trades and business, and sometimes in the professions, notably in the engineering profession. "The astonishing development of the broad agricultural provinces of Argentina has been mainly the achievement of Italian toil", declares the author, although the Italians were more often mere laborers following the several kinds of crops across the country and returning to Italy for the winter, a similar class who remained in Argentina, generally as unskilled laborers during the winter, those living on or near the fields cultivated, share cultivators, or renters; than proprietors. In general, it has been true that large fortunes have more often been made by Italians in trade and agriculture than in agriculture, but in many ways they have had an immense influence on the life and in the Prosperity of the country. Buenos Ayres, with its Italian population almost equal to that of Rome, presents much the same social problems as does New York with regard to its Italian population. After reading these chapters, we are ready for one of the conclusions of the author, namely, that

If Italian immigration were today wholly to cease, never to be revived, the Italian influence would forever count in Argentina, breathing a characteristic spirit into the political and social institutions of the land. Herein lies the great difference between an immigration of gold and an immigration of men. Some day the millions of English capital, so timely and so consequential when they came, may be withdrawn, just as still more millions have in the Great War been withdrawn from the United States; but the Italian contribution of blood to Argentina will remain.

In Brazil, the history of Italian immigration has been quite different from that of Argentina, but effects have been perhaps as striking and as lasting. Of it the author says; "Brazil cannot lose her Italian strain. It is too sturdily rooted". Before 1850, Italian immigration into Brazil was small. It gathered force about coincident with the period bounded by the laws regarding slavery in 1871 and the abolition of slavery in

1888, during which period over 200,000 Italian immigrants entered the country. Indeed, prior to the present century, actually more Italians entered Brazil than came to the United States. It was estimated in 1910 that the Italian population of Brazil was a million and a half. The Italian immigrants were destined to play a large part in the change of sugar cultivation to that of coffee as the great crop of Brazil with the consequent shifting of the economic center of the country from the north to the south. It was they who furnished hands for the coffee plantations and became agricultural laborers. More Italians, we are told, engaged in agricultural work in Brazil than in any other country to which Italians have emigrated. Of them, the author says:

When the best has been said, the experience of the immigrants on the fazendas has been one of broken hopes and vanished dreams. A great deal in production has been wrought, some planters—by no means all—have been enriched, but a narrow and stunted life, hedged about with worry, has been the reward of the mass of the cultivators.

In 1907, out of 57,000 landed estates, some 9 per cent belonged to Italians, and in some regions, it is true that the best farms are owned by Italians. But the majority have not arisen out of the more humble condition of workers, and culturally, existence has been, in general, on a humble scale.

In Brazil, as in other countries, Italians have worked at railway construction and at other work of a public nature, and as elsewhere have served to develop the country industrially. They have furnished also a merchant class, a competent artisan class, mill operatives, and workers at all the trades seen in a town or city.

The work throughout has been written in a readable style, which at times becomes eloquent. There are two indices, one bibliographical and one general, the conveniences of which may be questioned, although the first allows the author to avoid a bibliographical appendix on authorities cited.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Colombia. A Commercial and Industrial Handbook. By P. L. BELL, Trade Commissioner. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Special Agents Series, No. 206. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921. Pp. 423. Illustrations. Map of Colombia. Index. Cloth. 70 cents.)

The United States Government, through the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, has undertaken to publish handbooks on

various countries as an aid to the foreign trade of the United States. These books are the result of personal investigation by trained observers.

The handbook on Colombia is an admirable work, and fills a real need, for it gives in fairly brief compass, that economic information that is desired by importers and exporters, engineers, capitalists, and even teachers and students. To the last-named classes, indeed, it will be found indispensable.

Mr. Bell, in his introduction treats of various incidental matters, including the following: general economic position of Colombia, past and present; European versus American trade with Colombia; language; currency, weights and measures; postage; and telegraphs, cables, and wireless service. In succeeding sections, he discusses Geography, topography, and climate; population and living conditions; government, education, and national finance; general conditions affecting national industries; forest products; mining; petroleum; cattle raising; agriculture; domestic manufacturing; economic characteristics of nine commercial districts; transportation; foreign trade; customs tariff and import duties; trade-marks and patents; banks and banking; practice of handling bills of exchange with Colombia; insurance; commercial practices and requirements; aliens—naturalization, immigration; and markets for specific classes of merchandise. In an appendix sections are given on shipping, packing, commercial travelers, and list of works published by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce on Colombia. The map is reproduced by permission of Rand McNally.

Mr. Bell probably knows Colombia as intimately as any other citizen of the United States, and more intimately than most foreigners who have traveled in that country. Throughout his work, he has used discrimination as to what to include. The result has been a treatise that is alive and of use.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Bolivia. A Commercial and Industrial Handbook. By WILLIAM LYTE SCHURZ, Trade Commissioner. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Special Agents Series, No. 280. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921. Pp. 260. Illustrations. Map of Bolivia. Cloth. 65 cents.)

Dr. Schurz, whose handbook on Paraguay was noticed recently in this REVIEW, has compiled in the present work the best treatise on Bolivia yet written by a citizen of the United States. This is an authoritative work in which information never before collected in one single

volume, and much of which is absolutely new, is offered to those interested in the economic condition and development of Bolivia. Like the preceding work, the volume is the result of personal investigation.

In his introduction, the author covers briefly the subjects of geography; topography; climate; health conditions; population and living conditions; government, education, and intellectual life; and religion. In continuation, other topics treated are as follows; cities and towns; transportation and communications (external trade routes, railways, roads, lake and river navigation, and telegraphs); mining; petroleum; stockraising; agriculture; forest industries; manufactures; labor conditions; colonization, immigration, and land, trade; investments; banking and money; and public finance. The work is concluded by an appendix in which are discussed "Routes from United States to Bolivia", and "Accommodations for travelers in principal cities". There are twenty-three illustrations. The map, as in the preceding volume, is reproduced by permission of Rand McNally.

Although the volume has been compiled as an aid to foreign commerce, it will be found of use to many classes, including those engaged in the teaching profession. As is well known its author has had the advantage of a thorough training in historical investigation and has had actual academic experience as well, so that he has been able to plan his work with an understanding of values. The limitations imposed by the prime nature and purpose of the handbook has compelled a brevity of treatment in many instances which the teacher or student who makes use of it, will regret but excuse. The absence of an index is compensated for partly by an analytical table of contents. It would have been of service had the author appended a list of the best economic authorities of Bolivia. Dr. Schurz it should be noted, has been promoted to the position of Commercial Attaché and is stationed in Rio de Janeiro.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Africa and the discovery of America. Vol. 1. By LEO WIENER, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Harvard University. (Philadelphia: Innes & Sons, 1920. Pp. xix, (1), 290.)

The first thing that strikes the reader of this volume is its wonderful display of linguistic learning. The second is the daring with which the author invades the field of archaeologists and historians. Will the former relish being told that one of the conclusions of the eminent author is that "American archaeology was to a great extent built on sand"? And will the second receive with avidity the dogmatic manner with which the author settles historical points? It is believed not. The book

is largely an attempt to prove by language the unreliability of early accounts of America, the foreign origin of certain plants supposedly American, and the early connection between Africa and America. Early civilization, such as it was in the western hemisphere, was largely influenced from Africa. This is the central theme of the volume. But it is not, strictly speaking, a unit. In successive chapters are discussed "The journal of the first voyage and the first letter of Columbus"; "The second voyage"; "Tobacco"; and "The bread roots". We are led far astray in the arguments and well nigh forget the purpose of the work in the discussion of the word roots which the author traces through many tongues.

In the preface, we are told that the study of words has convinced the author that tobacco, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are not of American origin as is universally believed. Had he consulted the Standard Dictionary, he would have found a foreign origin ascribed to yams and apparently to manioc. It does not, moreover, appear that he has proven that tobacco is of foreign origin. His explanation of how the custom of tobacco smoking spread through the various tribes of American Indians is not convincing. Throughout the volume, there is a dogmatic tone that does not of itself lend credit to the author's assertions. The explanation of how certain readings came to be so in some of the old works is ingenious, but is, after all not good evidence, and in some instances appears far-fetched. On the other hand, the discussion relative to "ghost-words", will be followed with interest, although perhaps not with full credence. The discussion regarding the word "Guanahani", is probably the most interesting and may receive some serious consideration.

In writing the volume, Professor Wiener has consulted many authorities as is shown by the bibliographical list preceding the text. The volume, if not thrown aside after a brief examination, will prove stimulating, although perhaps, mainly in a negative way. A second volume is promised, in which the author will set forth his views regarding African fetichism, in which he proposes to show "by documentary evidence to what extraordinary extent the Indian medicine-man owes his evolution to the African medicine-man, who in his turn derives his wisdom from the popular Arabic medical science and religion". In the matter of Indian religion, everything is topsy-turvy, according to the author. Professor Wiener's work recalls to the reviewer a work written by an English clergyman some years ago wherein it is stated that all English history for some hundreds of years back has been misreported.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION

[Published on request of The National Tuberculosis Association.]

On the basis of investigations made by the National Tuberculosis Association at Framingham, Mass., at least 1,000,000, of the population of the United States may be said to have active tuberculosis. In other words, there are a million consumptives at the present time in this country. Another one per cent has this disease in a relatively quiescent form, most of them arrested cases and probably never knowing that they have had the disease. Of the 1,000,000 active cases of tuberculosis according to the records of the United States Bureau of the Census, 132,000 have died during the past year.

To state the situation in another way, 120 deaths for every 100,000 population, according to the best available statistics, have been caused by tuberculosis during the last year. It has been estimated by comparing the present death rate with that of no longer than twenty years ago that a saving of approximately 75,000 lives annually has been effected. Hence, the present problem is: How may we best accelerate the decrease in the tuberculosis death toll?

So much for the problem—what of its solution? The National Tuberculosis Association has consistently contended that by education and proper organization the mortality and morbidity rates from tuberculosis may be constantly reduced.

Dr. Louis I. Dublin who is statistician for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has found that among its policy holders who represent all occupations there has been a decline of 42 per cent in the death rate from tuberculosis of the lungs among white persons during the period 1911 to 1919. In commenting upon this decline Dr. Dublin says: "This achievement we believe has resulted from the public health and educational work of communities generally during the past thirty years, and from the intensive health conservation work of this company on behalf of its policy holders".

In order to estimate the influence of tuberculosis upon the length of human life in this country the National Tuberculosis Association has

prepared life tables with tuberculosis included and with tuberculosis excluded. On the basis of these results it is estimated that if tuberculosis could be eliminated as a cause of death in this country, two and one half years would be added to the life of every individual in the country. Capitalizing each individual life at \$100 per year, the net saving to the country would be at least \$25,000,000,000 and might run double that sum.

To provide the necessary health machinery to control tuberculosis would cost, according to experience gathered at Framingham and elsewhere, approximately \$2.00 yearly per person in any average American community. This expenditure would undoubtedly have to be extended over a period of probably ten years at least. Applying these figures to the entire population we find that for an expenditure of approximately \$2,000,000,000 the saving of \$25,000,000,000 mentioned above could be secured, a net saving of \$23,000,000,000.

The National Tuberculosis Association and its allied agencies are carrying on a winning fight against tuberculosis. The methods of the Association are proving effective. Their extension into every community of the United States will mean an increased saving of life and money.

The Tuberculosis Christmas Seal Sale to be held in December provides the "sinews of war" with which the national, state, and local tuberculosis associations can carry on their fight. The sale of these seals offers not only an opportunity but a responsibility to every American citizen.

DEATH OF GENARO GARCÍA

After a painful illness of more than a year, during which he suffered from pernicious anemia, the distinguished Mexican historian, bibliographer, and publicist died on November 26th last. He was an intense intellectual worker for over thirty years, during which time he published nearly a hundred works, including documents and the fruits of his own researches. He was at the same time an educator of distinction, having served as Director of the National Preparatory School, Director of the National Museum, Professor in the National Conservatory of Music, and professor in the School of Jurisprudence. His arduous life service deserves the greatest recognition from the Mexican people, for he gave them the distinction of possessing a ripe scholar of international renown.

His best known works include the *Documentos inéditos o muy raros para la historia de México*, in thirty-seven volumes; his *Documentos históricos mexicanos*, in seven volumes; his edition of Bernal Diaz' *Verdadera historia de la conquista de la Nueva España*, in two volumes; the *Carácter de la conquista española en América y en México*; his *Plan de Independencia de 1808*; *Leona Vicario*, *Don Juan de Palafox*, *Derecho usual*, *Derecho constitucional*, his work on Gaston Raousset de Boulbon, his *Crónica oficial del primer; entenario de la Independencia*; his translations of Spencer's *The Ancient Mexicans* and *Ancient Yucatan*; his uncompleted work on Mexican Architecture, his *Dos antiguas relaciones de la Florida*, and his *Calendarios Mexicanos*.

He was fifty-three years old, having been born at Fresnillo, Zacatecas, on August 17, 1867. His father was Trinidad García, who served as secretary of Hacienda and of Gobernación under Díaz. He was admitted to the practice of the law in 1891, but never interested himself deeply in it, preferring his historical work. The Mexican Academy of History, of which Señor García was a member, will shortly publish his biography.

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY.

A PLEA FOR COÖPERATION

No sharp line of demarcation exists between the two fields of Anthropology and History. Each supplements the other in gathering and sifting material in the borderlands. One of the most fruitful fields, where there is a wealth of unused material, lies in the unpublished manuscripts and unobtainable early books relating to the discovery and conquest of Hispanic America. There are numerous manuscripts of utmost importance yet unpublished and inaccessible to the public. Many of the early accounts written in Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch are so rare that even the student conversant with the languages cannot obtain access to them.

The Cortes Society has been established for the purpose of selecting some of the more important documents and narratives either printed or in manuscript form and publishing English translations of them along with notes and elucidations by the editors. It is proposed in the case of unpublished and excessively rare printed material, to publish the document in the original language and in English translation.

Four volumes have already been published:

1. *A Narrative of Some Things of New Spain and the Great City of Temestitan, Mexico*, by the Anonymous Conqueror, a Companion of Cortes, translated and annotated by Marshall H. Saville.

2. *The Conquest of Peru*, by Pedro Sancho, Secretary of Pizarro, translated and annotated by Philip A. Means.

3. *The Itinerary of Grijalva, an account of the exploration of the coast of Yucatan*, translated by M. H. Saville. (In press.)

4. *The Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdom of Peru*, by Pedro Pizarro, in two volumes, translated and annotated by Philip A. Means.

The Society is soon to publish the excessively rare work relating to Brazil entitled the *Historia da Provincia da Sancta Cruz*, by Pero de Magalães de Gandavo, printed in Lisbon in 1576. The first volume will contain a facsimile of the Portuguese text as published, with a translation and notes by John B. Stetson, Jr.

Plans are being considered whereby it is hoped that the Society may be able to undertake for the first time the publication of a translation of what is undoubtedly the most important work falling within the scope of its activities. This is the great history of Oviedo y Valdes entitled *Historia General y Natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-Firme del Mar Oceano*.

There are no dues connected with membership in the Society, the only obligation being subscription to its publications. As the translators receive no compensation for their work, the only expenses are those of publication and delivery of the volumes. Hence the books will be delivered to members at practically the expense of production.

The cooperation of historians in this important undertaking is greatly desired and those who are interested in the Hispanic American field will be welcome to membership in the Society. Inquiries should be addressed to Marshall H. Saville, Museum of the American Indian, New York City.

WILLIAM CURTIS FARABEE,
President of the American Anthropological Association.

From a circular issued by the Society it is learned that the edition of the publications of the Society is limited to two hundred and fifty numbered copies, of which fifty will be held in reserve for future demands in Europe and America. Two hundred and forty copies constitute the regular edition, printed on Old Stratford paper, and ten larger paper copies are issued on a superior quality of hand-made paper. The general edition is uniformly bound in boards with

buckram back. The price of the four volumes already issued is sixteen dollars. THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW ventures to hope that many of its readers will take advantage of an opportunity that can not be open long.—J. A. R.

The following is a translation of an editorial that appeared in *La Nation*, Buenos Aires, June 20, 1921, and entitled, "Our Commercial Relations With The United States".

Any study of the general and particular reasons which at the present time are prejudicing the development of our commercial relations with the United States would not be complete without a consideration of certain phenomena which are actively operating in a similar way. Such a study is necessary for the reason that the strengthening of our commercial relations with the United States interests us not alone in the present but even more so insofar as the future is concerned. The development of our commercial relations with the United States is indispensable, because there are certain products whose best and most satisfactory source of supply is to be found in the industries of that country, so that it is by all means necessary to bring about some sort of an economic rapprochement, insofar as the respective products of the two countries are concerned, on the general principle that the imports of a country should pay for the greater part of its exports. Foreign trade cannot be maintained without strict reciprocity. Otherwise, the wealth of a country which is without a surplus for export and at the same time a large consumer of foreign products would be rapidly exhausted by the dissipation of its reserves, to the inevitable prejudice of its circulating and dynamic capital. The structure of a healthy national wealth for any national economic unit is based on the active mobilization of its productive capital, assisted by the renewing and helpful influences of a reciprocal distribution of its surpluses, the result of which is the incorporation of new and foreign elements of which it has need for its development.

The presence of the United States commercially in our market as an important economic event is of comparatively recent date, with the exception of certain typical products of its industry. The participation of its industries was limited by two principal reasons: First, the defensive propaganda carried on here by the principal industrial countries of Europe, and the reluctance of the Argentine consumer to take advantage of the new source of supply. It may be said at the same time that the United States did not display any special activity for the reason that the surplus of its products available for export was insignificant. At that period, the industries of the United States were only able to produce a sufficient supply to take care of their domestic demand. The European war greatly changed that situation in two ways: it eliminated as a source of supply the European countries whose industries were concentrated on the production of war material, and, secondly, the great development in the industries of the United States, whose great production finally made necessary the search for new markets.

In previous articles we have analyzed the reasons why the commercial conquest of Latin-America by the industries of the United States has been such a slow proc-

ess and have referred to the remedies which its manufacturers might employ to correct it. It should be said, however, that there exist certain artificial causes which it would be possible to remove rapidly by the concerted action of the interested parties, that is to say, the American exporter and the Argentine consumer. We refer to the propaganda adverse to the commercial standing of the United States which has been carried on by its competitors and the existence of a prejudice on our part which makes such propaganda profitable. For many years past, and even up to the present time, there exists in Argentine the belief that the industries of the United States are imperfect and their products of an inferior nature as compared with those of other industrial nations.

In justice to all we cannot do other than qualify that supposition as a lamentable absurdity. Even without entering into a specific examination of the activities which are comprised in the productive powers of a country, a simple study of a phenomenon as a whole will show the condition of each one of the elements which go to make it up. The United States is without any doubt the most inspiring spectacle of the last fifty years. Its great increase in population, the submission of its national territory to creative action, the advanced standards of living, the incredible figures of its national and private wealth, the untiring spirit of progress of its inhabitants, their love of action and of work, their ability to respond even up to the point of sacrifice to the appeal of great moral causes of interest to all humanity, constitute a combination of virtues which must necessarily have its equivalent and complement in the other individual expressions of its national life. Its commerce and its industries, not alone as organizations purely material in their spirit and of wonderful power in the economic struggle of the world, but also as sources of energy which have need of a moral support, of a spirit of harmony, and even of an esthetic tendency, must progress and do progress in harmony with the most valued creations of modern civilization.

The products of the industries of the United States are as perfect as those of the most advanced industrial nations of the world, and this statement is made not only in reference to the potential capacity of its industrial establishment but also to the superiority of each individual product. To understand this assertion it will only be necessary to call attention to two facts: namely, its ability to supply all of its necessities with the products of its own industries, and, secondly, the demands, each day more varied and complex, which are the result of the habits of life of its people.

A country which has carried the expressions of its urban life to such extremes of convenience, hygiene, well being of its people, sumptuous magnificence and esthetic tastes, must necessarily have an industrial organization as powerful in its nature as it is subtle in its combinations, in order to supply such demands.

The Argentine consumers have not examined nor studied the problem in its real aspect, and, for this reason, it has been possible to spread a belief that the United States is only a great center of production, a sort of industrial phenomenon, characterized only by the great volume of its production. It is likely that one peculiar phase of United States industry has contributed to this belief as much as has the proselytizing influence of competitive nations. We refer to the dominant feature of its industrial life, that is, the "standardization" which is the striking phenomenon of its manufacturing industries. This process whose

industrial, economic, and ultimate advantages insofar as the employment of its output is concerned is the one which has run counter to the essentially individualistic temperament of the Latin, who expects to see in all the objects which surround him and in the things with which he has to do in his daily life an authentic and reflex expression of his own temperament. In his tailor-made clothes, his house built according to his own plans, his carriage of a certain design and color, his meals cooked especially to order, his own mixture of tobacco, and in many other ways, the exclusive tendency of our people protests against the levelling and gregarious spirit of modern social life which is daily becoming more pronounced and dominant. The question, then, may be summed up as the individualistic tendency of the consumer as opposed to the advantages of lower costs which are inherent in manufacturing processes on a large scale and on uniform standards.

If it for this reason that we have been in error as to the industrial flexibility of a country whose economic policy has directed its production along lines of ever increasing generalization, and what was really a technical process of economic advantage we have qualified merely as an exaggerated expression of magnitude, without taking into account that in the enormous potential capacity of its industries there was nevertheless inherent the complete control of the delicate, the subtle and the artistic, in just the same way that the enormous mass of an elephant contains not alone the strength of its powerful structure but also an instrument adaptable to all forms of action, its trunk, which with the same facility can uproot a tree or pick up a needle.

These peculiarities of the industries of the United States should be well known and familiar in those countries whose commercial conquest its men of industry are interested in bringing about. It is a work of propaganda and of education, the ends of which will only be obtained by the unquestioned eloquence of actual facts. It will be a question of patient and demonstrative work on the part of its direct representatives. As a result of this work they shall attain not only the necessary compensation for their enormous industrial organizations but also the prestige so well merited by their modern conceptions of industry.

NEW FACTORS IN SOUTH AMERICA

There are not many visitors to South America who are not commercial travelers. Even our government representatives give most of their service to business interests. Their markets, their raw materials, their undeveloped natural resources have seemed to the people of South America the only thing we cared for.

It is true that a few men have gone to speak to them of our ideals. Mr. Root went as Secretary of State; Mr. Bryan went as a private citizen; Mr. Roosevelt as an ex-president; Mr. Colby again officially and to speak for a man whom they had come to admire as a great idealist, President Wilson.

All these men were heard gladly, if at times rather skeptically. The thinkers of South America were waiting to be shown. The war almost convinced them that we have ideals. Then came our peace slump, and they were more puzzled than ever. But they certainly are stirred. Our national efficiency was tremendously demonstrated. That is a thing they feel themselves deficient in, a fact that is beginning to disturb them.

Such is the background recently found by a non-commercial traveler who is interested in human values, on his third trip through South America. This traveler lectured before the University of Chile, the Paraguayan Institute, and several other prominent educational institutions. He had extended conferences with the editors of such prominent dailies as *La Nación* of Buenos Aires, *El Mercurio* of Santiago, and *El Comercio* of Chile, all of whom commented extensively on the significance of his visit. He was entertained by literary and political leaders in each country, and visited and discussed American problems at length with the presidents of three Republics. As typifying some of the significant changes that have come about during the seven years interval since his first visit, and some of the really important phases of human and moral values in South America today, he notes the following:

1. There is a new and very determined interest in North American education. During the war, Europe being inaccessible, Hispanic American students came to the United States. Heretofore the Hispanic States of America had looked to Europe, France especially, for educational leadership and standards. These returning students from the United States, and the tremendous surge of national unity and effectiveness which marked our participation in the war, are serving together to turn the attention of Hispanic educational leaders to this country. They begin to suspect that there is a whole realm of idealism and of intellectual evolution here upon which they have scarcely entered. They are even asking, "Is it not possible that an educational system freely developed in a free American state should have certain qualities that would fit it for the uses and needs of other free American states?" The question has suddenly become a fascinating one for them. What the results of their study of it are to be cannot be foretold, but they are undoubtedly studying it.

2. The revolt against political and social conservatism is marked. It has some extraordinary phases. As in China the students are finding themselves as a social and political factor. They are often foolish,

in aims and methods, often the manner of youth, but their influence is extraordinary. Lately they have taken to joining forces with the labor unions. As these are often decidedly radical, some of the results are startling. Both the students and the unions are compactly organized and usually they concentrate on some concrete and specific thing. The vigor of their organized movements is such that they are able to bring about compliance with their demands. In one or two of the South American republics the governments, local and general, are in open fear of what these new crusaders may do. Already the students are electing the faculties and laying out the courses of study for the schools. The labor unions, as in the case of Argentina and the stevedores, are able even to complicate foreign relations and to assert themselves against both their employers and the police.

3. Not unrelated to the radicalism of the students and labor people is the demand of the intellectuals and of the reading public generally for a fresh literature. They are weary of French fiction on the one hand and of standardized and rather antiquated types of literature on the other. Hispanic America has begun to demand its share of the best thought as expressed in books. Books that help to make it possible to accept modern views of science, of sociology, anthropology, ethics, physics and the rest, without surrendering the Christian faith, are coming to be in great demand. Finishing his tour with a visit to Spain, this traveler found the publishing houses there eager to meet these new demands and already busy in supplying the market created, mostly with translations from English, German, and French works.—
GEORGE B. WINTON.

The Sub-Secretary of Public Instruction has recently issued a statement to the effect that Spain is considering a proposal made by the Belgian Government for the exchange of professors and students between Spain and Belgium. According to the proposed arrangement the Spanish and Belgian professors will continue to receive their salaries from their home Government and institutions, and will receive in addition a bonus from the respective Government to which they are sent. Arrangements are being considered also for a harmonization of the scholastic equivalents of the respective Belgian and Spanish universities in order that students may receive credit in their own institutions of learning for courses taken abroad. It is expected that the working out of this arrangement will strengthen the mutual national understandings of these two countries, equipping men of one

country with the best elements offered by the other, bringing about in general better feeling and facilitating international co-operation. It is stated that only the final arrangements in this proceeding remain to be perfected and that, as a matter of fact, professors and students have already been appointed for the coming year. The Spanish Minister of Public Instruction has given orders for the immediate remission to Belgium of complete courses of study in Spanish institutions for the use of Belgian professors and students before their departure for Spain. Proper steps will be taken soon for the appointment of scholars and professors to be sent from Spain to Belgium during the coming year.

An administrative order issued on September 23 by the Minister of Public Instruction established an indefinite number of scholarships, valued at 1,250 pesetas each, to be conferred upon distinguished graduates of the general and technical institutes, *de segunda enseñanza*. The number of scholarships to be conferred will depend upon the number of students matriculated in each group and it will likewise depend upon the amount of money voted by the Cortes for this purpose. The assignment of these scholarships for candidates for the bachelor's degree will be made by a tribunal of professors constituted for this purpose and on consideration of the scholastic records of the students in question. Candidates will furthermore be called upon to pass special examinations for this purpose.

A popular subscription headed by the King of Spain is being raised to erect a memorial statue in Madrid to the famous Spanish author Juan Valera. Subscriptions are requested from those persons in the United States who may wish to be identified with this movement. Donations may be sent to the Instituto de las Españas, 419 West 117th Street, New York City.

The Rector of the University of Chile, Santiago, Chile, Sr. Dr. D. Domingo Amunátegui Solar, in a recent letter suggests that a bibliography of Anglo-American writers on Hispanic America would be most acceptable to students of Hispanic America. Such a bibliography should contain short resúmenes of each work. Dr. Amunátegui Solar points out that many Anglo-American writers have published volumes on the history or culture of Hispanic America and that the study of these works is of great value. To acquire all these books, however, or even the best of them, would require a considerable outlay which

few students could manage, even if the books could be found. It is hoped that some student in the United States will be moved to undertake this work.

Professor Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., writes that Hamilton College for the first time in its history gave a course entirely on Hispanic America during the last semester of the past year. Various books were used for texts and considerable attention was paid to map work. The course also included lectures, oral reports, notebooks, etc. The need of a single good text was emphasized throughout the course. In the same institution, Professor Frank H. Wood in his course on political science, which was given during the same semester, used Latane's *The United States and Latin America* as a textbook for the first two months. Professor Bonham's course will be offered again in the spring of 1923, but Professor Wood's course is to be given annually.

Dr. N. Andrew N. Cleven, formerly of the University of Arkansas has accepted a call to the University of Pittsburgh, where he will have charge of the historical work on Hispanic America. A good class is registered for the present year.

The Brazilian Consul General in the United States, Senhor Helio Lobo, whose address is New York, is desirous of locating in the United States a portrait of Gonçalves Ledo, who took a prominent part in the events leading up to the independence of Brazil. It has been learned from an authoritative source that the only portrait of the above named gentleman was acquired in Brazil by a collector resident in the United States. Will any person having knowledge of such a portrait please communicate immediately with the above named Consul general.

Rev. John F. O'Hara, C. S. C., of the University of Notre Dame, reports that the interchange of students between that institution and South American institutions is working out well. During the summer seven undergraduates of Notre Dame made the trip to Buenos Aires and return, five of them working their way as ordinary seamen. There are about five hundred students in the school of commerce this year. Father O'Hara says:

We have made a new departure in the theory of commercial education. Last spring we arranged our programs of studies, giving the students a choice between

the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy in Commerce or Bachelor of Commercial Science. The former degree requires a three years' course in philosophy and was intended as a protest against the common tendency to slight cultural courses in commercial programs. You may be surprised to hear that ninety-five per cent of the students have elected the philosophy programs. Although they have chosen a line of work for which vocational training is largely necessary, they seem to realize that the essentials of real college training are found best in a good groundwork of philosophy.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

HISPANIC AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Concluded

CRITICAL NOTES ON SOURCES BY JOSÉ TORIBIO MEDINA

The compiler feels that he is fortunate in being able, with the author's permission, to supplement this list with the critical notes on bibliographical sources of Señor José Toribio Medina, freely translated from his *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana (1493-1810)*.

It would be a work of supererogation in addressing bibliographers and students of Hispanic American history to outline the products of Señor Medina's fine scholarship and indefatigable labor in the fields of history, literature, and bibliography. This note is added simply as a tribute of homage, respect and appreciation, personal and collective, for the compiler well knows that every student of these subjects in this country is grateful to the distinguished Chilean scholar who has placed such indispensable bibliographical tools at his command.

Señor Medina's life, as his biographer, Señor Chiappa, has happily said, is portrayed in the catalogue of his works. Although he has spent many years in distinguished public service, his dominant interests have been those of scholarship, and his chosen field of research has been the colonial period of Spanish-American history and of the introduction and development of the press in the former colonies of Spain. In this field he has created for himself a position of distinguished authority. His contributions to the bibliography of Spanish America are comprehensive in character and equipped with full bibliographical descriptions and biographical and critical annotations. This remarkable and indispensable *corpus bibliographicum* in itself constitutes a monument more lasting than bronze and gives to the author the first place among those who devote themselves to these studies.

In the first part of this list the compiler has endeavored to note all of Señor Medina's works that deal more specifically with bibliography, biography, and literary history. A general list of his writings and compilations, presumably complete up to 1906, will be found in *Noticias acerca de la vida y obras de Don José Toribio Medina* by Víctor M. Chiappa, Santiago de Chile, 1907.

If we were to limit the bibliographical review which we have undertaken to the works of this character that refer exclusively to America the task would be both simple and brief. But, as is the truth in this case, Spanish American works and authors are found mentioned more or less fully in bibliographies of general character, in the chronicles of the religious orders, in monographs on the history of printing in many cities of Spain and in catalogues of public and private libraries and dealers lists, it has seemed that we should at least mention these works since from them we have had to take something even if no more than a reference.

We should commence, then, with the general bibliographies. In this class the post of honor belongs to Nicolás Antonio in recognition of his work, *Bibliotheca Hispana*, first printed in Rome in 1672 and of which a second edition was issued in Madrid during the years 1783-1788.¹

In this work written in Latin are given notices of many American authors, considering the word American in its broadest sense. The titles of these works are given more or less abbreviated but always with exactness, and the place of publication, year, and size are added.

The author shows himself in his work to have been a scholarly man and so scrupulous in the notices he gives of works and authors that with the exception of a very few errors, the *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* is a safe guide for the bibliographer. The Spanish edition is handsomely published and its copious indexes greatly facilitate its use, compensating for what seems to us an error of having adopted in the body of the work an arrangement by Christian instead of family names, a system long used by Spanish authors in their indexes.

Nicolás Antonio y Bernal was born in Seville, July 28, 1617. His early studies were carried on in the Colegio de Santo Tomás and in other schools of that city until 1636 when he was sent to the University of Salamanca. Here, three years later he was graduated as bachelor of laws, to which study he devoted himself under the guidance of the renowned jurist, Francisco Ramos del Manzano. In 1645, he went to Madrid to solicit the habit of the Order of Santiago, which he obtained. Here he remained until 1659, when Philip IV. sent him, now ordained as a priest, to Rome, it is thought in the capacity of procurador general

¹ The first two volumes of this edition, the *Hispana vetus*, were edited by Francisco Pérez Bayer; the second two, the *Hispana nova*, including authors who flourished since 1500, were edited by T. A. Sánchez, J. A. Pellicer, and R. C. Casalbón.—Cf. List, nos. 6-7.

of the kingdom. He lived in Rome until 1678 when he was recalled to Madrid to serve on the Consejo de Cruzada. This function he performed until his death which took place in 1684.

More comprehensive than Antonio's work, since according to the title at least, it embraces all the cities of the world, is that published in 1713 in two volumes by Rafael Savonarola under the pseudonym of Alfonso Lasor a Varea. This we have occasionally cited but it has but little value for the Americanist.

As a bibliographical monument, the *Biblioteca Lusitana* of Diego Barbosa Machado is, of course, infinitely superior and although, as may be inferred, it relates almost exclusively to Portuguese works, it treats when occasion offers of authors of interest to America.

The first volume of this work, really notable for its bio-bibliographical researches and printed with typographical elegance, was published in Lisbon in 1741 and was dedicated by the author to King John V. Despite this fact and for reasons not easy to explain the second volume was dedicated to the Bishop of Porto. This incongruity was brought to the author's attention and he afterwards had the title page and dedication removed for which reason copies of the original edition are to-day rare. The third volume is very rare. It is said that, irritated because it did not sell and because of the criticisms levelled at it, the author destroyed all the copies that remained in his possession. The fourth was published in 1759.

The Abbot Barbosa, says Silva, was a zealous and enthusiastic bibliophile—a necessary result of his studies. At the cost of many sacrifices and expenditures he was able to collect a select and extensive library which he offered King Joseph to replace the royal library destroyed by the earthquake of Lisbon in 1755. This was transferred to Brazil when King John VI. withdrew to that country and forms today a most important part of the National Library of Rio de Janeiro.

Barbosa Machado was born in Lisbon, May 31, 1682, the son of Captain Juan Barbosa Machado and Catalina Machado. He was abbot of the parochial church of San Adriano de Sever in Porto and one of the first forty academicians of the Royal Academy of History of Portugal. He died August 9, 1772.

Turning again to Spain, we must skip many years before finding a general bibliography. This delay, however, has a certain compensation in the character of the work which is presented—we refer to the *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, the first volume of which was published in Madrid in 1863. It is so generally

known that comment here seems unnecessary. This magnificent monument of Spanish bibliography, compiled by Remón Zarco del Valle and José Sancho Rayón on the basis of the notices of the learned and diligent investigator, Bartolomé José Gallardo, contains many titles of interest to the Americanist, the more interesting in that some are of extraordinary rarity and all are described by a master hand with all the details that the most exigent curiosity could demand.

But it will be easily understood that these general bibliographies, whatever be their merit, interest the student of American bibliography but indirectly in comparison with those wholly devoted to works dealing with the New World. And it is unfortunate that of these there have been so few even including works that treat but incidentally of this subject.

We have pointed out that the predecessor of León Pinelo in the office of historian of the Indias was Gil González Dávila, who, in his *Teatro eclesiástico de las Indias* had occasion to mention, though without bibliographical details, works written and published by the bishops whose biographies he was writing. It is unnecessary to say that from the point of view of the subject in hand his work hardly deserves mention.

Neither these bare citations nor those found in some chronicles relating to American authors of the different religious orders, of which we shall speak later, can be compared with the *Építome* of León Pinelo—indeed taken together they are scarcely worth even a single title of that work which, notwithstanding all of its defects and despite the passing years continues to be a capital reference work for the bibliography of America.

It was left to a man of equal application to undertake the task of augmenting the bibliographical catalogue of the authors of the Indias. This was Andrés González de Barcía Carballido y Zúñiga, born in Madrid about 1673, the time when Nicolás Antonio was publishing in Rome his great *Bibliotheca Hispana*. Little is known of the life of this worthy *littérateur* and bibliographer, the result in part of the refusal of his descendants to furnish the author of his biography, Alvarez Baena, necessary information.² . . .

González de Barcía was an indefatigable worker. He undertook to collect as many books and papers, printed and manuscript, relating to the Indias as possible, of which he published some of no inconsider-

² Alvarez Baena Hijos de Madrid, v. 1. p. 107.

able value. Becoming engaged in a new edition of the *Hechos de los Castellanos* of Antonio de Herrera he proposed to make as complete as possible the list of "authors printed and manuscript who have written concerning affairs of the West Indies" which appeared in the original edition. For the realization of this object, he undertook to discover the location of the complete work of León Pinelo, of which the *Epítome* was an extract. In this his efforts proved fruitless and in substitution he had to have recourse to his own valuable and comprehensive collection of American books, the result of years of effort. His basis in his task was always the work of his predecessor which he completed by adding the titles of works published or written since the appearance of the *Epítome* which he had before him, or which he took from compilations, Spanish and foreign, published up to that time. This was the origin of the *Biblioteca Oriental y Occidental* published in 1737.

We shall quote here the judgment of a notable bibliographer, which, unfortunately, is wholly exact: "Many of the errors which mar the utility of subsequent works can be traced to Barcía", says Harrisse.

As the latter took León Pineolo as a model for his work, so he in turn served as a model for Antonio de Alcedo, author of the notable *Diccionario histórico geográfico de las Indias Occidentales*, in compiling in 1807 his *Biblioteca americana; catálogo de los autores que han escrito de la América en diferentes idiomas y noticias de su vida y patria, años en que vivieron y obras que escribieron*, cited for the first time by Rich in his *Bibliotheca Americana nova*. The work consists of VI-1028 leaves in manuscript. . . . ³

But whatever be the merits and defects of the work, the fact that it has never been published has caused no advance in bibliographical studies relating to America.

The *Biblioteca Mexicana* of Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren had a happier fate than the preceding work although not so happy as might have been desired. The first volume, embracing the letters A to C was published in Mexico in 1755. The manuscript extended to the letter J but the death of the author which occurred in 1753 prevented the completion of the work which was to contain bio-bibliographical notices of all authors born in New Spain (Mexico). Although in scope it did not include material relating to America in general, and although the fact of its being written in Latin (including titles of works) and

³ Now in the John Carter Brown Library.

with a certain defective critical spirit on the part of the author, which led him to immerse himself in lengthy dissertations, caused it to lose in large part the merit to which, conceived on a better plan, it could have aspired, nevertheless the notices collected therein make it in some respects superior to the work which, with the same objective, José Marino Beristain de Sousa accomplished in his *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional*.⁴ The author, who had spent twenty years in the compilation of this work, did not live to see it published.

The vast store of information it contains has not been surpassed by later bibliographers,⁵ and despite its faults, the most serious of which we must agree with García Icazbalceta in considering the liberty taken in changing, abbreviating, and reconstructing titles to such a degree that some are unrecognizable, the work remains indispensable to the American bibliographer. In the course of our work we have had to refer to it more than to any other work of its kind.

The *Bibliothèque Américaine* of Henry Ternaux-Compans, published in Paris, 1837, is a work of more general character and specifically devoted to the bibliography of America. But its sole merit is that of having arranged in chronological order the books in this field published in all languages up to 1700. In the Spanish material the author was able to use his own collection of books and, for not a few titles, Pinelo-Barcía, but with so little care that sometimes the same work is cited with two or three different dates.

Titles to the number of 1153 are given in abbreviated form and are accompanied by a French translation and an occasional note of slight value. This bibliography was thus replete with errors and it has been a rich source for the transmission of these to many bibliographers who have followed it.

We now come to the true founder of modern American bibliography. We refer, as will have been divined, to Henry Harrisse, and to his work *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, the first volume of which

⁴ The first edition was published in Mexico, 1816-1821. The fourth volume containing the anonyms which the author left in manuscript and some additions by others was published by Señor Medina in 1897 in a form similar to the edition of Amecameca of 1883. A biography of the author was included in this volume.

⁵ García Icazbalceta himself in his incomparable *Bibliografía Mexicana del siglo XVI* was unable to see some of the works mentioned by Beristain and Vicente de P. Andrade in his *Ensayo bibliográfico del siglo XVII* found himself under the necessity of simply mentioning many which the former apparently saw.

was published in 1866 with such typographical opulence in the facsimiles of the books it describes and in other external aspects that it marked an unimagined progress in works of this character. But even with this its appearance hardly corresponded to the careful work, the wealth of descriptions, the profundity of research, and the knowledge that the author prodigally furnishes on each page.

This first volume was followed in 1877 by another containing *Additions* to the titles previously described, the two volumes containing 304 plus 186 titles of works relative, or containing references, to America printed in any country and language from 1493 to 1551.

Despite the intensive investigation and the exceptional opportunities the author enjoyed in securing material for his work, he was not able to include in it all that had been written on the subject—a matter, of course, easily explained—nor did he fail to fall into some errors.

Of him Mr. Growell has said:

Henry Harrisse's name is connected with one of the most erudite bibliographies ever published; indeed, according to Nicolas Trübner, Harrisse's *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima* is a "work unrivalled in its extent, accuracy, and comprehensiveness." This is the more remarkable because Harrisse had no bibliographic training, and because the work in question was his first attempt in this field. Before undertaking the work on the *Bibliotheca Americana*, he had devoted himself exclusively to art, criticism, and the history of philosophy, translating into English and annotating all the metaphysical works of Descartes. Being unable to find a publisher in America for that class of books, he turned his attention to other subjects. At this time—about 1864-65—he made the acquaintance of Samuel Latham Mitchell Barlow, the generous collector to whose munificence bibliographical science is indebted for this splendid publication. Mr. Barlow shortly before had bought the library of Colonel Aspinwall that was destroyed in the fire which consumed the premises of Bangs, Merwin & Company, 696 Broadway, where the books were temporarily stored. Fortunately, Mr. Barlow, a few days before this disaster, had removed to his house a number of the rarest treasures in the collection. Harrisse was tempted, by the aid of Mr. Barlow's rich mine of invaluable works, to write a history of the beginning, the decline, and the fall of the Spanish Empire in the New World. In making his selections among the many works, Harrisse naturally made a preliminary work of bibliography, and he began with Columbus. These notes were published in two instalments in the *New York Commercial Advertiser* under the title *Columbus in a Nutshell*. Mr. Barlow, finding that these notes were eagerly demanded . . . proposed that they be reprinted with some important additions. . . . These studies were included in the following volume: *Notes on Columbus*. New York, 1866. (v, 2-227 p., 13 photographs.) . . .

These researches inspired Harrisse to prepare a study of all the authentic facts relating to the discovery, the conquest, and the history of America down to the middle of the 16th century. The bibliographical data collected in the

course of these investigations became the nucleus of the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*. . . .

Harrisse was born in Paris in 1830. When quite young he came to the United States to join his family, and went south, where he taught modern languages to support himself while he was studying law. He received the degree of A. M. from the South Carolina College, read Blackstone with the Hon. W. W. Boyce, and prepared himself for the bar in the Law Department of the North Carolina University. The Hon. Stephen A. Douglas induced him to settle in Chicago; but after a few years of unrequited efforts as a lawyer, he removed to New York and entered the office of the late N. Dane Elingwood. . . . Thirty years ago he made Paris his home. Being discouraged at the treatment which his works, all written solely to promote a documentary and initial knowledge of the history of our country, received at the hands of the American public, Harrisse gave up *Americana*. At Mr. Barlow's request he returned to American subjects, toiling henceforth and unremittingly and gratuitously, as usual, at the task of clearing up obscurities that rest upon the period of American discovery, which includes the voyages of Columbus, Vespucci, the Cabots, and Cortereal. . . .".

A separate edition of 125 copies was issued of those pages of Harrisse's work which relate to the books printed in America from 1540 to 1600. The Spanish bibliographer Zarce del Valle and Sancho Rayón made a free translation of these pages adding notes, descriptions, and comments of their own and published it in Madrid, 1872, in a handsome volume of 59 pages with 3 leaves of facsimiles. This, due to the small edition, is now extremely rare.

During the years 1868 to 1892 there has been published in New York *A Dictionary of books relating to America from its discovery to the present time*, by Joseph Sabin. This reached the letter S, when the work was interrupted. In truth, few titles available for Spanish-American bibliography are found in it and these are transcribed usually from dealers' catalogues and without the indispensable bibliographical notices. It does not, therefore, in any degree correspond to what one interested in this subject might expect from its title.

On the other hand, in the *Historia de la literatura de Nueva Granada*, of José María Vergara, Bogotá, 1867, a book of modest appearance but written with true critical spirit and no little scholarship, are found many data and references on Spanish-American books and authors not available elsewhere.

American languages have received special attention from bibliographers. We shall not discuss the work of Lorenzo Hervás, published in the dawn of the 19th century, the *Mithridates* of Adelung, the *Index alphabeticus* of Juan Severino Vater, the *Monographie* of Squier, the *Apuntes* of García Icazbalceta, nor many other works containing more

or less extensive lists of writers in the native languages of America, in order to comment more fully on the work of Hermann E. Ludewig, of whom Harrissee has written a comprehensive biography. It is entitled *The Literature of American aboriginal languages*, London, 1868, "with additions and corrections by Professor Wm. W. Turner", and forms a valuable compend of the subject with references to authors who have incidentally worked in this field. Of course, it is not free from errors and omissions.

The value of the book, in its relation to Spanish bibliography, has, however, disappeared almost wholly with the publication of the *Bibliografía española de lenguas indígenas de América*, by the Conde de Viñaza, Madrid, 1892. This, also, is not exempt from omissions but it is much superior to its predecessor in details and in the number of works described. "In it", says the author,

"we have collected all the grammars, vocabularies, lists of words and phrases, catechisms of Christian doctrine, and manuals for the administration of the Sacraments, sermons, pietistic books and all kinds of works, printed or manuscript, relating to the indigenous languages of America that have been written by Spaniards, Portuguese or citizens of Latin America from the 16th century to the present day. We have called the work, *Bibliografía española* because the literature of those peoples who speak the language of Cervantes and Camoens will always be called Spanish as well as because Portugal and Latin America lived for a long space of time under the crown of our rulers, in the most glorious period of our history.

"There are included also some works written in our classical age by missionaries who, although born in Italy, Germany, or Flanders, passed the greater part of their lives among Spaniards, were Spaniards in truth, and acquired a greater facility and elegance in the use of Castilian than in their own."⁶

On the occasion of the fourth centennial of the discovery of America the Academy of History commissioned certain of its members to prepare a *Bibliografía Colombina*, that is to say, of the printed and manuscript documents, works of art, etc., that in some manner refer to the

⁶ The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., possesses a Bibliography of South-Central America, including Mexico, in manuscript, prepared by Dr. Rudolph R. Schuller. This contains some 7,000 titles, embracing history, geography, ethnology, linguistics, technology, etc. The entries are on sheets in the form and of the bibliographic fullness used by the same compiler in his *Vocabulario araucano de 1642-1643*, Santiago de Chile, 1907. Cf. Report of the Librarian of Congress, 1913, p. 34. In this connection should be mentioned José A. Rodríguez García's *Bibliografía gramática y lexicografía castellanas*, Habana, 1903-13, 2 v. in folio, an important contribution by a Cuban scholar to the bibliography of the Spanish language.—TRANSLATOR.

discoverer of the New World, and there appeared in due time a quarto volume of about 700 pages. This comprehensive compilation, useful to the investigator on account of some of the material it contains, is exceedingly weak from every point of view in the real bibliographical part. This has justly brought upon it severe criticism both in Spain and abroad.

The catalogues of libraries, societies, and even of bookdealers, while of more modest appearance than bibliographies, are in some cases of greater practical value inasmuch as they contain titles of books whose existence is not affirmed by mere references.

No one, for instance, can overestimate the value to American bibliography possessed by the *Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá*, prepared by Pedro Salvá y Mallén and published in Valencia in two bulky quarto volumes in 1872, with facsimiles, portraits, printers' devices, etc. In this work, without considering the numerous titles of interest, for some reason or other to the Americanist, there is an entire section devoted to books concerning the Indias described with a wealth of details and references to the various editions, all done with a commendable critical spirit.⁷

The catalogue of the Huth Library, London, 1880, in 5 volumes quarto, beautifully printed, also contains some titles worthy of the consideration of the American bibliographer.

Of the United States, where there are at least four important private collections of American books, we are acquainted with the *Catalogue of books relating to North and South America of John Carter Brown*, with notes by John Russell Bartlett published in 1866, which, in the opinion of a competent judge, "cannot fail to awaken the admiration of students and the envy of collectors".⁸

The publication in Seville of the *Catálogo de los libros impresos de la Biblioteca Colombina* was begun in 1888 with bibliographical notes by Simón de la Rosa y López, but with the issue in 1891 of the second volume, the publication was suspended. This is most regrettable for

⁷ This notable library, acquired by Ricardo de Heredia, Count of Benahavis, was sold in Paris at public auction in 1891, with other books that formed the *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque*, 4 v., of that nobleman.

⁸ Cf. Harriette, *Bibl. Amer. Vetust.*, note on p. xxx.

The Lenox collection, now a part of the New York Public Library, should be mentioned in this connection, and also the Church collection, the catalogue of which, prepared by George Watson Cole, with a magnificent bio-bibliographical equipment, was published in New York, 1907, in 5 volumes (List, no. 38).
TRANSLATOR.

although Harrisse⁹ has described the past and present of that famous collection, it was necessary for us to know once for all what it contained. This, as was to be expected from the period of its collection, involves little of interest to the student of Americana.¹⁰ Gabriel René Moreno published his *Biblioteca Boliviana* in Santiago de Chile, 1879, and more recently his *Biblioteca Peruana*, 1896, in which he has listed all the books on Peru found in the Library and in the National Institute. These are bibliographies in the true sense of the word, in which the learned Bolivian has described *de visu* all the titles catalogued, including occasionally pertinent observations in the style that is peculiar to him.

Recently the *Catálogo de la Biblioteca Museo de Ultramar* (Madrid, 1900) has been brought out, containing accurate transcriptions of many titles of American books, but it lacks, most regrettably, even the most essential bibliographical data.

Among dealers' catalogues should be noted those of Obadiah Rich, especially his *Bibliotheca Americana Nova*, London, 1835-1846, 2 v., which lists books relating to America printed between 1700 and 1844 in various languages; the *Bibliothèque Américaine redigé par Paul Trömel*, published by Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1861, which gives a detailed description of books relating to the New World issued up to 1700; and the *Bibliotheca Americana* which its author, Henry Stevens, called *Historical Nuggets*, published in London in 1861, and in which the most of the works are described with abundant details.

But of all the catalogues issued for the sale of American books, without doubt the best, on account of the number of titles contained as well as for the minute details and the biographical data regarding the authors, is that issued by Charles Leclerc, Paris, 1878.¹¹

We have now to mention, even though but briefly, the Spanish bibliographies of special subjects and those of the provinces and cities of the Peninsula, which, although of little immediate interest to the Americanist, should be consulted, sometimes very profitably. We regret that limitations of space prevent a more exhaustive description of works and authors of which Spain may justly feel proud.

With respect to the special bibliographies, the first place must without doubt be conceded to the work of the Franciscan priest, Pedro de Alva y Astorga, entitled *Militia Immaculatae Conceptionis Virginis*

⁹ *Grandeur et décadence de la Colombine*. Paris, 1885.

¹⁰ Since Señor Medina wrote the above, the publication has been resumed, 5 volumes having been published. Cf. List, no. 43.—TRANSLATOR.

¹¹ Cf. List, nos. 86-87.

Marix, printed in Louvain in 1663. In this work, which reveals immense work, Alva y Astorga has mentioned more than 5,000 authors, in whatever language they may have written, who occupied themselves with the subject he undertook to treat, citing the books with size, and date of publication.

But a century later, another special bibliography appeared in Spain which, for its minute format, forms a decided contrast to the one we have just mentioned, we refer to the *Bibliografía Militar Española* by Vicente García de la Huerta, published in Madrid, 1760, which contains a summary enumeration of the titles of books *de re militari*, among them many by American authors.

Six years later the Marqués de Alventos published in two volumes his *Historia del Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé*, including in the second volume a list of authors of the six colleges, without bibliographical data and with some omissions of importance.

To overcome these deficiencies was the object of José de Rezábal y Ugarte, regent of the Royal Audiencia of Chile, in his *Biblioteca de los escritores que han sido individuos de los seis Colegios Mayores*, published in Madrid, in 1805. The author inserted his own autobiography in the work. On more than one occasion we have had recourse to this, for the information it contains relative to Spanish-American authors, especially regarding their native countries, public careers, and literary activities.

During the years 1842 to 1852 there was published in Madrid in seven volumes the *Historia bibliográfica de la medicina española*, a posthumous work of Antonio Hernández Morejón preceded by an historical and bibliographical eulogy of the author. In this work, notable from many points of view, titles are cited accurately with accompanying critical estimates and biographical data of the authors. These we have frequently been able to utilize.

Similar in character to the preceding, but naturally more modest in consideration of their scope are the bibliographical and biographical studies in Miguel Colmeiro's *La Botánica y los botánicos de la Península hispano-lusitana*, Madrid, 1858.

Superior, of course, to both, in its value for American history is the *Biblioteca marítima española* of Martín Fernández de Navarrete, also a posthumous work, published in Madrid, in 1851, in two volumes.

Its value consists not only in the bio-bibliographical researches on books and authors mentioned but also in the documents that are cited at every step.

Of less value, but necessary for occasional consultation, is the *Diccionario bibliográfico-histórico de los antiguos reinos, provincias, ciudades, etc., de España* by Tomas Muñoz y Romero, which, like the work of Colmeiro was published in 1858, a prize volume of the National Library of Madrid and issued at its expense.

Special bibliographies of different kinds, also useful to the student of books and men relating to America are: *Catálogo del teatro antiguo español* of Barrera y Leirado, Madrid, 1860; *Apuntes para una Biblioteca española de libros, folletos, etc., relativos a las riquezas minerales concernientes a la Península y Ultramar* by Maffey y Rúa Figueroa, Madrid, 1871; *Bibliografía numismática española* by Rada y Delgado, Madrid, 1866; and *Biblioteca científica española del siglo XVI*, by Felipe Picatoste y Rodríguez, Madrid, 1891.

During the years 1785 to 1789, Juan Sempere y Guarinos brought out in six volumes his *Ensayo de una Biblioteca española de los mejores escritores del Reinado de Carlos III*, in which are found bio-bibliographical notices of not a few writers regarding American affairs.

Contemporaneously, Juan Antonio Pellicer y Saforcada published his *Ensayo de una Biblioteca de traductores españoles*, Madrid, 1788, in which also are found some data available for American bibliography.

Perhaps more important than the special bibliographies are those of regions and cities of the Peninsula which began to appear about the middle of the 17th Century. Thus, in 1747, José Rodríguez published his *Biblioteca Valentina*, and Vicente Ximeno issued his *Escritores del reino de Valencia*, in two volumes. These two works were completed by the publication in 1827 of the *Biblioteca Valenciana* of Justo Pastor Fuster.

Álvarez Bacna's *Hijos ilustres de Madrid*, Madrid, 1789-1791, is of interest for the data it contains relative to our subject. In the preparation of the biographical part the author made many researches in the parochial registers of Madrid and in other sources not less worthy of confidence.

The *Biblioteca nueva de escritores aragoneses* of Félix Latassa follows in chronological order as the six volumes of which it consists were published from 1798 to 1802. This, as a continuation of the *Biblioteca antigua* published in 1796, includes authors who flourished from 1500 to the last date. Both works of the learned Aragonese, augmented and reedited in the form of a bio-bibliographical dictionary by Miguel Gómez Uriel, were reprinted in Zaragoza, 1884, in three volumes.

To this series of bibliographical works relating to the regions and provinces of Spain belong the *Catálogo de los libros, etc., que tratan de Extremadura*, published in 1865, by Vicente Barrantes, and ten years later the *Aparato bibliográfico para la historia de Extremadura* by the same author, both of interest, especially for data relating to Hernán Cortés, the Pizarros and other Extremadurans who participated in American affairs and whose deeds were subject matter for not a few authors.

To the same class of works belong the *Biblioteca del Bascófilo*, Madrid, 1887, by Angel Allende Salazar; the *Intento de un diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico de autores de la provincia de Burgos*, Madrid, 1890, by Manuel Martínez Añíbarro; the *Bibliografía española de Cerdeña*, Madrid, 1890, by Eduardo Todo y Güell; and the *Colección bibliográfico-biográfica de la provincia de Zamora*, Madrid, 1891, of the noted Americanist, Cesáreo Fernández Duro.

Similar to these is the *Catálogo razonado biográfico y bibliográfico de autores portugueses que escribieron en castellano*, Madrid, 1890, by Domingo García Peres.

Of more distinctly bibliographical flavor and, for this reason, of greater value to the student of American books are the special works designed to catalogue the production of the press in some of the cities of the Peninsula. The first place in chronological order as well as in merit belongs to Cristóbal Pérez Pastor who in 1887 initiated this series with the publication of his *Imprenta en Toledo*, and who subsequently has enriched his country's literature by similar works on Medina del Campo and Madrid during the 16th century.

He has been closely followed by Juan Catalina García in the *Imprenta en Alcalá de Henares*, Madrid, 1889, and *Escritores de Guadalaajara*, Madrid, 1899, and by José María Valdenebro y Cisneros in the *Imprenta en Córdoba*, Madrid, 1900. We must also mention Escudero y Perosso's *Tipografía Hispalense*, a work of less value from every point of view, which will possibly delay for many years the publication of a worthy record of the products of the presses of that city.

It is regrettable that modern Spanish bibliographies—that of the Conde de Viñaza being an exception—have failed to refer to the authors who have previously mentioned the books that are described, and to give biographical information regarding the authors whose books are discussed.

To complete this review of the works we have been able to use in the preparation of the present Biblioteca,¹² we must give a brief review of

¹² Biblioteca hispano-americana. Cf. List no. 109.

the chronicles and bibliographies of the religious orders. In this we shall not occupy ourselves with those published in America because they refer almost wholly to books published there, nor with all of those published in Europe, because the bibliographical data are vague and of little value and their consideration would require more space than is available.

To the Jesuits, in our opinion, belongs the honor of having initiated the bibliography of the religious order with the publication by Pedro de Ribadeneira of Toledo of *Catalogus Scriptorum Religionis Societatis Jesu*, Antwerp, 1608. This was reprinted the following year and again in 1613, notices of American authors beginning to appear in the later edition. His work, brief as it necessarily was from the recent foundation of the order, served later as a basis for a much more extensive work, prepared by Felipe Alegambe, a native of Brussels, published also in Antwerp in 1643. This Nathan Southwell, born in Norfolk, England, increased by adding notices of authors who flourished up to 1675 and published under the same title in Rome, 1676, in a large volume of over 1000 pages.

During the 18th century the bibliography of the order, in so far as is of interest to our subject, was enriched, in an incidental manner, by two Mexican Jesuits, P. Clavigero in whose work published in 1780 are found two lists of American writers; and Juan Luis Maneiro who published his *De Vitis aliquot Mexicanorum*, in Bologna, 1791. In this are found interesting bibliographical notices.

The two *Supplementa Bibliothecae Scriptorum Societatis Jesu* by Raimundo Diosdado Caballero, published in Rome, 1814-1816 in two volumes were designed to study the lives and works of the Jesuits who were expelled from Spain and America and established themselves in Italy. In this work is found much of singular interest regarding these Jesuits in so precarious a time when so many concealed the fruits of their intelligence under anonymity.

In all of these works, however, notices of books are given very briefly with but the most indispensable data to distinguish them.

Both in this respect and in its comprehensiveness, the *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* by Augustin and Alois de Backer surpassed all of these bibliographies. Its publication was begun in 1855 and completed in 1861.¹³

Inferior to this, notwithstanding the limitation of its scope to the historical part, is the work of Auguste Carayon, *Bibliographie historique*

¹³ Nouv. édition par C. Sommervogel. Bruxelles, 1890-1909, 10 v. Cf. List, no. 16.

de la Compagnie de Jésus, Paris, 1864. To us, the most interesting section is chapter 4 of the third part which treats of the missions in America and contains nearly two hundred titles very briefly given.

The *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes* of authors belonging to the order, published by Carlos Sommervogel in Paris, is superior by reason of the research it shows. There is, however, little in it of value to the Americanist.

Much more useful and in part wholly reliable is *Los antiguos jesuitas del Perú* published in Lima in 1882 by Enrique Torres Saldamando, a most diligent and industrious author, who was able for the preparation of his book to consult the original documents of the order which were preserved in that city. The author gives us extensive biographical and bibliographical notices of 157 writers of the 16th and 17th centuries, and, according to his plan, which, for various reasons, he was unable to realize, these notices for completing the bibliography of the 17th and that of the 18th centuries, were to comprehend more than 300 authors. By the premature death of Torres Saldamando, American bibliography lost a worker of the highest character.

The Dominicans followed the Jesuits in publishing information concerning their authors. As early as 1611, Alonso Fernández in his *Historia eclesiástica de nuestros tiempos* published in Toledo, dedicated two chapters to books and authors of the New World, chapters which served León Pinelo in the compilation of his *Epítome*.

These notices, however, are insignificant in comparison with those found in the *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum* by the French authors Jacques Quétif and Jacques Echard, the second volume of which, published in Paris, 1721, and devoted to 16th and 17th century authors of the Order, forms a real monument of bio-bibliographical research, indispensable for consultation to one dealing with American books and authors.

Poor and inadequate in comparison is the *La Orden de Predicadores* which Ramón Martínez Vigil published in Madrid in 1884.

Tomás de Herrera initiated the bibliographical work of the Augustinians with his *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, printed in 1644, which contains some notices of American writers. Juan Martín Maldonado, however, in his *Breve Suma de la Provincia del Perú*, published in Rome in 1651, gave very full information concerning the authors of that part of America.

In the fourth volume of the *Chronica Espiritual Augustiniana*, written by Sebastián Portillo y Aguilar the same year that Maldonado brought out his work, but not published until 1732, there is found a catalogue

of 983 authors of the Order. The data, however, are so brief that we might say that the bibliography of the Augustinians is yet to be done were it not for the *Catálogo de escritores agustinos españoles, portugueses y americanos* which Bonifacio Moral commenced to publish in 1882 in the review, *La Ciudad de Dios*, which meets, in some degree, this want. This work, which we believe, was not issued in the separate edition as prepared by the author, is worthy of commendation, particularly with respect to the Philipines.¹⁴

The Franciscans at an early date began the task of noting the productions of their authors. If we omit from consideration Francisco Gonzaga's *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis*, Rome, 1587, the fourth part of which, devoted to missions of America, contains an occasional bibliographical reference, and Lucas Wadding's *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*, written in 1650, which contains the names of some American authors among the two thousand mentioned, we must come down to 1732 before finding the *Bibliotheca universa franciscana* by Juan de San Antonio of Salamanca. In this we find abundant and reliable information regarding American books and authors. Many, indeed are the names it contains and although titles are not catalogued and described *in extenso*, it possesses the advantage of indicating which books the author has personally handled, a valuable detail, especially for that period, which removes all doubt as to the existence of some that are now of the greatest rarity.

The Franciscans have also the *Saggio de bibliografia geografica storica etnografica sanfrancescana*, Prato, 1879, by Marcellino da Civezza, with titles copied literally, accompanied by compendious bibliographical descriptions and in some instances by transcriptions of passages which seemed of interest. It is, without doubt, a work of some value but very incomplete.

The Mercedarians possess the *Biblioteca Mercedaria* by José Antonio Garí y Siu mell, published in Barcelona, 1875, which mentions 874 authors, including some Americans. But as the bibliographical part consists largely of a bare statement of the titles, it may be said to be wanting in adequate research.

Such, briefly indicated, are the principal sources of American bibliography.

C. K. JONES,
Translator.

¹⁴ Cf. Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una biblioteca ibero-americano de la Orden de San Agustín*. List, no. 148.—TRANSLATOR.

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Beginning with September, the format of *Commerce Reports* was changed, the publication being made harmonious in size with the *Congressional Record* and issued once a week instead of daily. The first number of the new publication appeared on September 5, and nos. 2, 3, and 4, on September 12, 19, and 26 respectively. Items on Hispanic America have appeared as follows:

- Alteration in concession for electric railway in Peru. No. 4.
American competition in Brazilian coal trade. No. 3.
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- Economic conditions in Mexico. No. 1.
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Textile imports of Cuba. No. 2.

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The famous Mexicana collection of the late Genaro García has been acquired by the University of Texas. Dr. Charles W. Hackett, writing in the University of Texas Bulletin May 15, 1921, says:

The library is composed of printed books and manuscripts relating primarily to the history of Mexico. The printed works number over 20,000, including books and pamphlets; in addition there are about 2,000 volumes of Mexican newspapers and periodicals, many of which are unique, and the private archives of a number of prominent nineteenth century Mexican statesmen. The latter contain over 120,000 manuscript pages.

The largest collection in the library is that comprising the books on history and geography. In fact there hardly exists a known book concerning the history of Mexico which is not found in this section. It comprises books dealing with the prehistoric period, the Spanish conquest, the colonial period, and the national period down through the revolution which overthrew Carranza. There are between five and six thousand books alone covering the period since 1810.

While the core of the library is historical Mexico, the collection also comprises the following sections: general works, as bibliographies and encyclopedias, works of philosophy, of religion, of law, of indigenous linguistics and of Mexican *belles lettres*. The latter collection, containing over 2,000 volumes, is, it is claimed, more complete than the corresponding section of the National Library.

The value of such a collection can hardly be estimated or even appreciated. By the acquisition of this library the University of Texas undoubtedly takes first rank over all the institutions in the country in facilities for the study of Spanish North America from earliest to latest times and in practically all fields of investigation save that of religion. Only the University of California and Yale University can compare with the University of Texas in this respect. What the library will mean for graduate work and to scholars and investigators the world over it is only necessary to suggest.

The Sección de Historia of the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras of the University of Buenos Aires has published the following, many of which, as will be seen, are already exhausted:

Los Archivos de Paraná y Santa Fe.—Informe del Comisionado P. Antonio Larrouy. Buenos Aires, 1908. Pp. 24. (Exhausted.)

Los Archivos de Córdoba y Tucumán.—Informe del Comisionado P. Antonio Larrouy. Buenos Aires, 1909. Pp. 61.

Gobierno del Perú.—Obra escrita en el siglo XVI por el Licenciado don Juan Matienzo, Oidor de la Real Audiencia de Charcas. Buenos Aires, 1910. Pp. X, 219. (Exhausted.)

Documentos relativos a la Organización Constitucional de la República Argentina. 3 vols. Buenos Aires, 1911-1912. Indice alfabético de los tres tomos. Buenos Aires, 1914. (Vols. I. and III. exhausted.)

Documentos relativos a los antecedentes de la Independencia de la República Argentina. Buenos Aires, 1912. Pp. XII, 469. (Exhausted.)

Documentos relativos a los antecedentes de la Independencia de la República Argentina—Asuntos eclesiásticos (1809-1812). Buenos Aires, 1912. Pp. X, 230. Indice alfabético de los dos tomos. Buenos Aires, 1913. Pp. 43.

Documentos para la historia del Virreinato del Río de la Plata. 3 vols. Buenos Aires, 1912-1913. Indice alfabético de los tres tomos. Buenos Aires, 1913. Pp. 44. (Vol. III. exhausted.)

Documentos para la Historia Argentina. Vols. I-XIV. Buenos Aires, 1913-1921 (series being continued). (Vols. I.-IV. exhausted.)

MONOGRAFÍAS

I: La administración de Temporalidades en el Río de la Plata, por Luis María Torres. Buenos Aires, 1917. Pp. 24.

II: Constituciones del Real Colegio de San Carlos, por Emilio Ravignani. Buenos Aires, 1917. Pp. 18. (Exhausted.)

III: Valores aproximados de algunas monedas Hispano Americanas (1497-1771), por Juan Alvarez. Buenos Aires, 1917. Pp. 37. (Exhausted.)

IV: Los manuscritos del diario de Schmidel, pp. 10 and 6 plates, por Roberto Lehmann Nistche. Buenos Aires, 1918.

V: Origen y Patria de Cristobal Colón, Crítica de sus fuentes históricas, por Rómulo D. Carbia, pp. 50 and 14 plates. (Exhausted.) Buenos Aires, 1918.

VI: La personalidad de Manuel Belgrano, ensayo conmemorativo, por Emilio Ravignani. Buenos Aires, 1920. Pp. 32.

VII: Relación descriptiva de los mapas, planos, etc. del Virreinato de Buenos Aires, existentes en el Archivo General de Indias, por Pedro Torres Lanzas. 2.^a edición, aumentada. Buenos Aires, 1921. Pp. 173 and 77 engravings.

EN PREPARACIÓN

La política portuguesa y la Infanta Carlota, en el Río de la Plata (1808-1809), por Diego Luis Molinari.

El período colonial a través de la historiografía argentina. Valoración de textos, por Rómulo D. Carbia.

Los Archivos de Catamarca y La Rioja, por el P. Antonio Larrouy.

Los Archivos de la ciudad de Buenos Aires, por Emilio Ravignani.

The University of California has issued an announcement catalogue of 27 pages in Spanish, under the title *La Universidad de California: su instalación, régimen, plan de estudios, etc., 1921.*

Doubleday, Page, & Co. began to publish in April, through its Spanish Book Department, a small catalogue entitled *La Revista de*

Libros, "a bibliographical guide for the use of teachers, students, and lovers of Spanish". This list "which will appear from time to time, will attempt to keep its readers informed of the current literary movement in Spain and the Spanish-American countries".

The Chile-American Association has issued a small pamphlet by the name of *Reciprocal resources of Chile and the United States* (New York, 1921, pp. 20). This gives various basic facts concerning Chile and the United States printed both in Spanish and in English. A brief introduction calls attention to the mutual interests of Chile and the United States, and to the work of the Chile-American Association in enlarging the knowledge of the United States in Chile.

Those wishing to study Spanish in Spain or to make well laid out trips in Spain, will find interesting the *Announcements* of the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes—Junta para Ampliación de Estudios, Centro de Estudios Históricos—Courses in Spanish language and Literature for foreigners in Madrid, 1921. With this is included a notice of the trips to Spain organized by the Spanish bureau of the Institute of International Education, with the cooperation of the Committee on Foreign Study and Travel of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and the American Express Company. This can be obtained from the Institute of International Education, at 419 West 117th St., New York.

Miss Katherine Dreier, author of *Five Months in the Argentine from a Woman's Point of View*, donated 500 copies of her book to the Museum of Modern Art, Société Anonyme, Inc., 19 East 47th St., New York, to help meet the initial expenses of the undertaking.

D. Sturgis E. Leavitt of the University of North Carolina, who, when holding a Sheldon traveling fellowship from Harvard University, made extensive investigations in the libraries of Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, is arranging his bibliographical material for publication. The results of his researches will take the following form.

"A bibliography of Peruvian literature, 1821-1919". This is announced for publication by the *Romanic Review*. "It includes works actually consulted in the library of the University of San Marcos, the National Library, and in the private collection of Señor Javier Pardo y Ugarteche, rector of the University. . . . From the list are omitted books of a purely scientific nature".

A bibliography of Bolivian literature. This is also to appear in the *Romanic Review*.

"Chilean literature. A bibliography of literary criticism, biography and literary controversy".

"Argentine literature".

"Uruguyan literature."

Dr. Leavitt's work will form a valuable supplement to Coester's *Literary History of Spanish America*, and a most useful aid to librarian and student. It is to be hoped that these bibliographical contributions may be published in collective form.—C. K. JONES.

Fred Wilbur Powell, Ph.D., has recently published through the Stratford Co., of Boston, a needed volume entitled *The Railroads of Mexico*. The first part is concerned with the present condition in Mexico and with the period following the Díaz regime. The second part contains a summary of the development of the great system of land transportation which has so rapidly brought Mexico out of a long economic stagnation. The third part deals with conclusions which are based on the two preceding parts. Readers of this volume will welcome the carefully worked out bibliography. This work will be discussed in a later issue of this REVIEW.

Mr. Alfred M. Tozzer, the first recipient of the traveling fellowship in American archaeology of the Archaeological Institute of America, has made an important contribution to American linguistics in the publication of his *A Maya grammar with bibliography and appraisal of the works noted* (Cambridge, Mass., 1921, pp. xvi, 301) which forms vol. 9 of the "Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology", Harvard University. The bibliography is notable. In it "three are listed over 700 different works, not including second editions, on or in the Maya language or referring to it in some way. It should be understood that the language in question is that dialect spoken in the peninsula of Yucatan and not the Maya linguistic stock which covers a far more extended area." The author's appraisal of the works mentioned in the bibliography in which he discusses with scholarly competency the relative value of the works listed, is a most valuable feature.

A Bulletin no. 25, published by the Interamerican Division of International Conciliation, in June, 1921, was devoted to the recent Bolivar

celebration in New York. It contains a number of addresses given at the unveiling of the monument erected to Bolívar or in connection with that occasion, by the following persons: Beltrán Mathieu, Esteban Gil Borges, Santos A. Dominici, Rafael H. Alizalde, President Warren G. Harding, Mayor John Hylan, Governor Nathan L. Miller, and John Bassett Moore.

The second volume of *Anales de la Academia de la Historia* has at last been published. Although it bears the imprint, "Habana, 1919", it has issued from the press only during this year. In this volume, the excellent bibliographical articles begun in the first volume are continued, namely: "Elogio del doctor Ramón Meza y Suárez Inclán", and "Bibliografía de Enrique Píneyro". The "Centon Epistolario", and "Manuel de Quesada y Loynaz", the latter by Carlos Manuel de Céspedes y Quesada, are also continued.

Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas, nos. 36-45 (two numbers to each issue) contains further instalments of Pedro Torres Lanzas's "Catálogo de Legajos del Archivo de Indias", and the same archivist's "Escudos de armas, títulos de ciudades y villas, fundaciones de pueblos, erección de obispados, etc". Nos. 36-37 contain: "Censos de la población del virreinato de Nueva España en el siglo XVI"; "Relaciones geográficas de Yucatán". Nos. 38-39: "Intervención tutelar de España en los problemas de límites de Hispano-América: II. Indeterminación de fronteras geográficas", by Germán Latorre; "Real Academia Hispano-Americana de Ciencias y Artes de Cádiz. Certamen artístico para conmemorar el día 12 de octubre". Nos. 40-41: "Intervención tutelar de España", by Germán Latorre; "Propuesta de Esteban Gómez, piloto, para establecer un dique en el arroyo Taguete, donde se junta con el Guadalquivir, 1533". Nos. 42-43: "Algunos documentos del Archivo de Indias sobre ciudades chilenas"; by Jesús Pabón and Luis Jiménez Placer y Ciaurrez; "En bien de Sevilla y del comercio sevillano", by Germán Latorre; and "Segundo congreso de Geografía e Historia Hispano-Americanas celebrado en Sevilla en conmemoración del centenario del viaje y descubrimientos de Fernando de Magallanes". Nos. 44-45: "II Congreso de Geografía e Historia Hispano-Americana celebrado en Sevilla en conmemoración del centenario del viaje y descubrimiento de Fernando de Magallanes"; "Documento parlamentario. Discurso pronunciado en el Senado en el día 2 de marzo de 1921, en la discusión del dictamen de contestación

al discurso al corona", by Luis Palmo; "Don José de Veitia Linaje y su libro 'Norte de la Contratación de las Indias,'" and "Libro de las longitudes . . . por Alonso de Santa Cruz" (continued).

Boletín de Historia y Antiquedades is the name of a pleasing review published in the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá. In various issues are noted; June, 1919—"Academia de Historia del Magdalena"; "Aportaciones a la Bibliografía del precursor de la independencia suramericana, don Francisco de Miranda", by Juan M. Aguilar (concluded); "Bases del certamen que abre la academia Nacional de la Historia de Venezuela, para los ciudadanos de las repúblicas americanas, con motivo del centenario de la victoria de Bogota"; "Los Curas de Nóvita", by Guillermo O. Hurtado; "Diario de las operaciones del ejército de don Julio Arboleda, de marzo a agosto de 1862"; "Fundación de la villa de Leiva", by Mateo Domínguez. July-August, 1919—"Ante la tumba de Santander"; "Antonio Santos", by J. D. Monsalve; "Anzoátegui", by Fabio Lozano y Lozano; "Centenario de la batalla de Boyacá"; "Compañía de Nueva Granada"; "El Coronel Fray Ignacio Mariño", by Nicolás García Samudio; "Cuarta función del ejército libertador de la Nueva Granada, en Boyacá, el día 7 de agosto de 1819"; "Después de Boyacá"; by Aníbal Galindo; "Discurso pronunciado en el Parque de la Independencia", by Fabio Lozano T.; "Discurso pronunciado en la sesión solemne de la Academia Nacional de Historia, por su presidente", by Antonio Gómez Restrepo; "Elogio de don José Manuel Restrepo en la Academia Nacional de Historia", by Eduardo Zuleta; "Genealogía del general Santander", by José María Restrepo Sáenz; "Informe del secretario perpetuo en la junta pública extraordinaria del día 10 de agosto de 1919"; "José Concha", by P. M. I.; "Juan José Reyes Patria", "Memorias de un oficial de marina"; "Mito genealógico", by M. S. Sánchez; "Ocupación de la ciudad de Tunja por el ejército libertador"; "Páginas inéditas sobre Boyacá. Reminiscencias", by Andrés M. Gallo; "Palabras de Luis Augusto Cuervos ante el cabildo de Tunja, en nombre de la municipalidad de Bogotá y de las Academias de Historia de Colombia y Venezuela"; "Primer centenario del fusilamiento de Antonia Santos en el Socorro"; "Tomás Manby", by Luis Augusto Cuervo; December 1919—the entire number is devoted to Pedro María Ibáñez. January 1920—"Amores de Solís", by Raimundo Rivas; "Apostillas", by E. Posada; "Cartas a Caldas sobre el doctor Mutís", by Lorenzo de Laquerica"; "Discurso el 12 de octubre de 1919, al hacer entrega de

la presidencia de la Academia al doctor Raimundo Rivas", by Antonio Gómez Restrepo; "Epigraffia bogotana", by E. Posada; "Exposición hecha al virrey de Santafé sobre la necesidad de prevenir los progresos del mal de San Lázaro y de promover la destrucción de las plataneras dentro de las poblaciones como causa de las enfermedades endémicas que se padecen en la provincia del Socorro", by José Celestino Mutís; "Informe de un jurado de la Academia Nacional de Historia"; "Informe del bibliotecario de la Academia Nacional de Historia"; "Reglamentaria del secretario perpetuo de la Academia Nacional de Historia, doctor Pedro María Ibáñez, leído en la junta pública del 12 de octubre de 1919."

The *Bulletin de l'Amerique Latine* which has been published in Paris for eleven years will change its title in January, 1922, becoming the *Revue de l'Amérique Latine*. Each number will contain about 100 pages and the directors, one of whom is Señor Don Ventura García Calderón, propose to publish articles of general interest regarding Hispanic America by well known French and Hispanic American authors. Among the latter are Francisco García Calderón, Graça Aranha, Alfonso Reyes, Carlos A. Villanueva, Gonzalo Zaldumbide, Hugo D. Barbagelata, and others.—C. K. JONES.

The *Colombian Review* is a recent addition to the reviews published in New York which are devoted to Hispanic America. It is edited by Ernesto Ponce de León, chief of the Government Information Bureau of the Republic of Colombia in New York. The July, 1921, number (no. 8) contains: "A page of history (Initial diplomatic relations between Colombia and the United States of America following the signing of the declaration of independence, by Nicolás García Samudio; "Venezuelan historical documents at the Chicago Exposition"; "The Colombian berry, or giant blackberry of Colombia", by Wilson Popenol; "Colombian possibilities for the development of the calcium-carbide industry"; "Colombian custom house duties—law of 1913"; "Statistical data on the hide and leather industry in the Republic of Colombia, S. A."; "Republic of Colombia and its vegetable oils"; and "El Presidente Harding condena la tarifa sobre importación de petróleos".

The *Compass* (New York) publishes in recent issues articles as follows: January, 1921—"Business conditions today"; by James Brown; "Economic development of Brazil", by Carl Schafer. March—"Cuban sugar commission"; "Digest of Torrente Law (Cuba)"; "Exchange

on Latin America"; "Fixed rate of exchange (Ecuador)"; "Post-war readjustment in Colombia"; "The Stock-raising industry of Venezuela"; by Alba A. Mohr. April—"Factors affecting Peruvian exchange", by Grosvenor M. Jones; "Financial situation in Brazil". May—"The Maracaibo oil basin," by C. H. Stewart; "Peruvian business and financial conditions", by Charles F. Hill; "Simón Bolívar honored". June—"American investment in the Argentine meat-packing industry", by Leslie Orear; "Argentine conditions and their effect on American trade", by F. J. Oehmichen; "Business and financial conditions in Peru", by C. F. Hill; "Colombian oil development", by Alba A. Mohr; "Conditions in Pernambuco, Brazil"; "Cuzco, Peru; The old Inca Capital"; "South American investments"; "Vanadium in Peru".

Cuba Contemporánea, March, 1921, contains the following articles: "Bibliografía", by Enrique Gay Calbó; "Eça de Queiroz", by Manuel de la Cruz; "El Padre Las Casas y los conquistadores españoles en América", by Enrique A. Ortiz; "La Preponderancia de los Estados Unidos en el mar Caribe", by Raúl de Cárdenas; "Ramillete poético", by Enrique José Varona; "Reflexiones sobre la crisis económica", by André François-Poncet. In the August number appear "La Historia y los factores históricos", by Ramiro Guerra; "Páginas para la historia de Cuba", by Francisco G. del Valle; "La Pena de muerte en Cuba: su ejecución".

El Eco is the name of a useful paper published in Garden City, New York, by Doubleday, Page and Co., for the special use of teachers and students. This "Revista de la prensa española" is published twice each month for the eight months of October-May, or a total of 16 numbers annually. It is not published during the other four months of the year. The same company also publishes *Le Petit Journal* for those interested in French.

El Estudiante Latino-Americano publishes material as follows in various numbers: January, 1921—"Las Conferencias de Silver Bay", by Carlos Eduardo Monteverde; "Conferencias en el Lago Geneva"; "Cooperación en la América Latina"; "Estudante Brasileiro nos Estados Unidos. Suas primeiras impressões", by Antonio Ippolito; "La Federación de estudiantes del Perú y la Comisión de Relaciones Amistosas"; "A Literatura Brasileira nos Estados Unidos", by Gil-

berto Freyre; "Orientaciones, nordofobia y nordomania", by Jorge Mañach; "Da Outra America. Tia Sam, mestre-escola do mundo. O trabalho do triangulo Vermelho entre os estudantes estrangeiros", by Gilberto Freyre. February—"A America Latina; sua nova situação", by Gilberto Freyre; "The Claims of starving European students upon the students of America", by Charles D. Hurrey; "El Joven Latino-Americano en los Estados Unidos", by Orestes Vera; "Message to Latin-American students", by Leo S. Rowe; "El Progreso de la educación femenil en el Perú", by J. Antonio Reyes; "O Que os estudantes devem levar para os seus paizes", by Milton Vianna; "Recent conference on Pan-American education"; "Síntomas aleuladores de amistad interamericana", by Samuel G. Inman; "La Sociedad Hispánica de América", by Concha Romero. March—"Algo sobre la Argentina", by Santiago de Cuneo; "Galería de hombres célebres argentinos"; "Una Cuestión internacional. La actuación argentina en la Asamblea de Gineva", by Santiago de Cuneo; "O Dr. Oliveira Lima e a República Argentina"; "Embaixador intellectual do Brazil", by Gilberto Freyre; "Escalando los Andes", by E. Sola Torino; "Los Estudiantes argentinos en los Estados Unidos", by Bernardino L. Beckwith; "Nuestra educación argentina", by E. L. Urteaga; "Un Saludo del Embajador argentino", by Tomás A. Le Breton; "Sarmiento", by José Ingenieros. April—"La Alianza con la tierra", by Jorge D. Alberta; "Apresurarse lentamente", by Julio D. Sueldo; "Bolivia intelectual", by Ernestina de Ayoroa; "Bolivia y los Estados Unidos", by Andrés A. Sanz Guerrero; "La Educación del Indio", by George McCutcheon McBride; "Los Estudiantes bolivianos en los Estados Unidos", by C. Flavio Machicado; "Mr. Rockefeller y los estudiantes latino-americanos", by Luis A. Buendía; "Discurso sobre a historia politica do Brazil, na Universidade de Pennsylvania", by Helio Lobo; "Nuestro deber", by Luis G. Bustamante; "Pedagogía nacional. Fragmento de un libro", by Franz Tamayo; "Saludo del Consul General boliviano", by Carlos Gumucio. May—"Aos Estudantes brasileiros", by J. de Siqueira Coutinho; "Factos sobre o Brazil"; "A Grandeza economica do Brazil futuro", by C. D. Ochoa; "Liga Panamericana de Estudiantes", by William R. Shepherd; "O Lugar de estudantes estrangeiros nas universidades americanas", by Milton F. Vianna; "O Principe de Monaco e o Brazil", by Gilberto Freyre; "O Rio de Janeiro, cidade federica"; "O Que eu fariasifosse estudante brasileiro nos Estados Unidos", by John C. Branner; "Saudação de embaixador", by A. de Alencar; "Senhora Laura Oltoni". June—"Costa Rica", by Eduardo

Azuola; "Curiosidades de Rubén Darío"; "The Educational problem in Central America", by Howard E. Jensen; "La Federación de Centro-América", by Angel S. Sandoval; "La Liga Panamericana de Estudiantes"; "Palavras de Joaquim Nabuco"; "Los Progressos de la educación en Centro-América", by G. L. Michaud; "Relações intellectuaes entre o Brazil e os Estados Unidos", by M. B. Jones; "El Sur de los Estados Unidos", by Oscar A. Gacitua; "Suscinta historia de los juegos florales en el Salvador", by Abraham Ramírez Peña.

The Geographical Review (New York) contains the following articles and items in April, 1921: "The coastal belt of Peru"; "The Colombia-Ecuador boundary"; "The distribution of population in Mexico", by Sumner Cushing; "The natural regions of Mexico", by E. M. Sanders; "The relation of health to social capacity: the example of Mexico", by Ellsworth Huntington. July: "An Exploration of the Río de Oro, Colombia-Venezuela", by H. Case Willcox; "General Rondon's work in the Brazilian wilderness"; "New Orleans at the time of the Louisiana purchase", by Edna F. Campbell; "The Ratón mesas of New Mexico and Colorado", by Willis T. Lee.

Hispania for March, 1921, contains "En defensa de la lengua española", by Julio Mercado, and for May, "Spanish in the High schools of the middle west", by Grace E. Dalton; "Summer courses in Venezuela", "A summer vacation in Costa Rica", by Mina Weisinger.

The Universidad Nacional de la Plata, Argentina, has published the first volume of a publication entitled *Humanidades*. This is issued under the auspices of La Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación, under the direction of the well known scholar Dr. Ricardo Levene (La Plata, 1921). This first volume (pp. 598) contains the following material: "La educación de los adultos en Inglaterra", by Juan P. Ramos; "La escuela normal, el maestro y la educación popular", by Pablo A. Pizurno; "Papel de la educación física en la ética social", by E. Romero Bresf; "La función de la universidad", by Lidia Peradotto; "El problema de la educación estética en la enseñanza secundaria", by W. Keiper; "La neuva conciencia histórica", by Saúl Taborda; "Introducción a la axiogenia", by Coriolano Alberini; "Ideas para una neuva teoria de la ciencia", by Benjamín Taborga and José Gabriel; "El sistema de los problemas psicológicos", by Carlos Jesinghaus; "El lenguaje interior", by Enrique Mouchet; "Logística", by Alfredo

Franceschi; "Una introducción a la historia de la psicología", by A. A. Jascalevich; "Luis Martín de la Plaza", by Arturo Marasso Rocca; "Acerca de la Shakespeare", by Rafael Alberto Arrieta; "De illustribus scriptoribus latinis", by Juan Chiabra; "El origen de la tragedia", by Leopoldo Longhi; "La enseñanza del castellano", by Carmelo M. Bonet; "Al margen del ambiente literario", by Héctor Refia Alberdi; "El arcipreste", by E. L. Figueroa; "El dean Funes plagiario", by Rómulo D. Carbia; "Instrucciones de los diputados por Tucumán a la asamblea de 1813", by Alberto Padilla; "Juan de Solorzano y Pereyra", by Manuel Pinto; "La educación en la constitución alemana de 11 de agosto de 1919", by Eduardo de Bullrich; "El profesorado de enseñanza secundaria en matemáticas, en la Argentina", by Nicolás Besio Moreno; "La organización del trabajo escolar de acuerdo con nuevos principios," by José Rezzano; "La antropología en la enseñanza universitaria argentina", by R. Lehmann-Nitschi; "Estudio anamnésico del educando", by Alfredo D. Calcagno; "Enseñanza de niños anormales", by Luis Morzone; "Educación moderna", by Victorio M. Delfino; "El dibujo", by León B. Glanzer; "Puntos de vista", by A. Isaac Bassani (hijo). There is also a section devoted to documents connected with the administration of the university, which are all signed by Ricardo Levene. A note preceding these documents is to the effect that *Humanidades* is being published in order to show the problems of philosophy, history, ethics, and pedagogy. The publication will doubtless serve a very practical purpose. It should be known among institutions in this country and should be a means of drawing more tightly the intellectual bonds between the United States and Argentina.

The July, 1920, issue of *The Journal of International Relations* published the following: "American achievements in Santo Domingo, Haiti, and Virgin Islands", by George C. Thorpe; "The Caribbean policy of the United States", by William R. Shepherd; "Greetings to the world from the new liberal constitutional party in Mexico", by Manuel de la Pena; "The Mexican people", by Frederick Starr; "The present American intervention in Santo Domingo and Haiti", by Otto Schoenrich. October, 1920: "Are the Mexican people capable of governing themselves", by T. Esquivel Obregón; "The Central American Republics and their problem", by Webster E. Browning; "A Constructive policy for Mexico", by Roger W. Babson; "The Factor of Health on Mexican Character", by Ellsworth Huntington;

"How to restore peace in Mexico", by Henry Lane Wilson; "The Mexican Oil situation", by Frederic R. Kellogg; "The Present situation in the Caribbean", by Samuel Guy Inman; "The Railroad situation in Mexico", by A. W. Donly; "The United States and the nations of the Caribbean", by Jacinto López; and "Upon the Indian depends Mexico's future", by James Carson. January, 1921: "America's Mare 'Nostrum'", by Kirby Thomas; "Labor in Mexico", by James Lord; "Mexico and the present revolution", by John Vavasour Noel; "Porto Rico as a national problem", by Pedro Capó Rodríguez; "Recent conditions in Mexico", by Francis R. Taylor; "Reconstruction problems in Mexico", by E. D. Trowbridge; "The United States and Latin America", by John F. Moors. April: "The Colombian treaty—retrospect and prospect", by Isaac Joslin Cox.

Inter-America offers the following in various recent numbers: October, 1920—"The Bolívar doctrine", by J. L. Andara; "General Leonard Wood and public instruction in Cuba", by Aurelio Hevia; December—"Independence Day and Central American union", by Ramón Rosa. February, 1921—"The Belgian sovereigns in Brazil", by Anselmo Pagano (transl. from *Plus Ultra*, Buenos Aires, September, 1920); "Colonial life in Spanish America" (transl. from *Comercio Ecuatoriano*, Guayaquil, special no. 83); "The Founding of Tenochtitlan", by Heriberto Frias (transl. from *Atlántida*, Buenos Aires, August 19, 1920); "Impressions of Washington", by Enrique Molina (transl. from *Juventud*, Santiago, Chile, May, 1920); "The Law of vengeance", by Ramiro de Maeztú (transl. from *El Comercio*, Lima and *Cuasimodo*, Panamá, March, 1920); "Manuel Gálvez", by Manoel Gahisto (transl. from *Nosotros*, Buenos Aires, March, 1920); "The National Salon of Fine Arts", by José León Pagano (transl. from *El Hogar*, Buenos Aires, October 8, 1920); The "Natural sciences in Venezuela", by Diego Carbonell (transl. from *Cultura Venezolano*, Caracas, September, 1920); "Sarmiento", by Julio Noe (transl. from *Revista de Filosofía*, Buenos Aires, May, 1918; "Spaniards and Indians in early Peru", by Arturo Capdevila (transl. from *Nosotros*, Buenos Aires, October, 1920). April—"At the foot of Aconquija", by Santiago Fuster Castresoy (transl. from *Caras y Caretas*, Buenos Aires, August 14, 1920); "Brains and bulk", by Angel L. Sojo (transl. from *Fray Mucho*, Buenos Aires, November, 1920); "José S. Alvarez", by Mariano Joaquín Lorente (transl. from *Caras y Caretas*, August 21, 1920); "Mexican archaeology", by Hermann Beyer (transl. from

Revista de Revistas, Mexico, September 19, 1920 and June 9, 1921); "The Presidents of Argentina", (transl. from *Fray Mucho*, October 12, 1920); "Regarding realism", by Delfino Bunge de Gálvez (transl. from *Nosotros*, November, 1920); "Spain in America", by Mario Ribas (transl. from *Renacimiento*, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, October 15, 1920); "Supay-Chaca", by F. de Oliveira Cesar (transl. from *Atlántida*, December 9, 1920); "A Synopsis of the history of Argentine social ideas", by Raúl A. Orgaz (transl. from *Revista de Filosofía*, January, 1921); "With a great man of letters", by Julio Jiménez Rueda (transl. from *Revista de Revistas*, November 14, 1920). June—"American international law," by Federico S. de Tejada (transl. from *Centro-América*, Guatemala City, July-September, 1920); "Francisco de Goya y Lucientes", by Juan Bautista de Lavalle (transl. from *Studium*, Lima, October-November, 1920): "The Growth of Buenos Aires" (transl. from editorial in *La Argentina*, Barcelona, February, 1921); "In the wake of the *Mayflower*", by Helio Lobo (transl. from *La Nación* Buenos Aires, 1920); "The Preponderance of the United States on the Caribbean Sea", by Raúl de Cárdenas (transl. from *Cuba Contemporánea*, March, 1921); "Ripples on the surface of great themes," by Emilio J. Pasarell (transl. from *Puerto Rico*, San Juan December, 1920). August—"The Colonial city: its remote sources", by Laureano Vallenilla Sanz (transl. from *Cultura Venezolana*, September, 1920); "Florencio Sánchez: the man and the dramatist", by Vicente A. Salaverri (transl. from *Nosotros*, March, 1921); "The Formation of the Lake of Maracaibo", by Adolf Ernst (transl. from *Cultura Venezolana*, November, 1920); "The Glorification of Bolívar", by Benito Javier Pérez (transl. from *El Excelsior*, Mexico); "Liberty of utterance", by Enrique Gay Calbó (transl. from *Cuba Contemporánea*, April, 1921); "Modern Spanish literature in Puerto Rico", by S. Dalmau Canet (transl. from *Las Antillas*, Habana, September, 1920); "The Noble mission of the lawyer", by Alejandro Reyes (transl. from *Revista de Derecho y Legislación*, Caracas, November and December, 1920); "Our humiliating isolation", by Mario Ribas (transl. from *Renacimiento*, April 25, 1921); "La Doctrina Monroe como inteligencia continental", by Julius Klein (transl. from *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, May, 1921).

Mercurio Peruano for November, 1920, has the following: "Crónicas de Norteamérica", by Víctor Andrés Belaúnde (continued in following numbers); "La Universidad de Yale", by César Antonio Ugarte; "Régimen de la propiedad durante los Incas", by Carlos Valdez

de la Torre: "Un Sacerdote de la cultura (a continued paper), by Edwin Elmore. December, 1920: "Lo Bello en la naturaleza", by Alejandro O. Deustua; "Las Interpretaciones del Quijote", by Jorge Mañach, January, 1921; "Lo Bello en la Arte", by Alejandro O. Deustua; "Cristóbal Colón", by Manuel I. Vegas; "Los poetas de la colonia", by Jorge Guillermo Leguia. February; "Los Copleros de la conquista", by Horacio H. Urteaga; "Don Francisco de Toledo", by Germán Leguia y Martínez; "La estética en la libertad", by Alejandro O. Duestua; "La guerra a muerte", by Fabio Lozano y Lozano; "Mariano Andrés Belaúnde", March-April: Carácteres de la crisis económica actual", by Carlos Ledgard; "Ciertos aspectos estéticos del arte antiguo del Perú", by Philip Ainsworth Means; "Cristóbal Colón", by Manuel I. Vegas; "La Profesión de hombre", by Juan A. Mackay. May: "A los Intelectuales y estudiantes de la América Latina. Mensaje de Anatole France y Henri Barbusse"; "El Ilusionismo", by Mariano Ibérico y Rodríguez; "La Ingeniería en la colonia", by Ricardo Tizón y Bueno; "Revista política (of various countries)", by Victor Andrés Belaúnde; "La Selección universitaria a propósito del Mensaje de France y Barbusse". June-July: "Las Ciencias biológicas", by Fortunato Quesada; "Las Ciencias matemáticas, físicas y técnicas", by Cristóbal Losada y Puga; "La Enseñanza en el Perú a través de una centuria", by J. L. Madueño; "Estado económico del Perú", by J. M. Rodríguez; "Los Estudiantes de la arqueología del Perú", by Horacio H. Urteaga; "Evolución del Perú", by César Antonio Ugarte; "La Filosofía", by Mariano Ibérico y Rodríguez; "La Historia en el Perú", by Luis Alberto Sánchez; "El Sentido simpático de nuestra historia", by Arturo García.

México Moderno (Mexico City) in its issue for March, 1921, has an article on "Ramón Gómez de la Serna", by Alfonso Reyes. May, "Jesús Ureta", by Martín Luis Guzmán; "and México-Tenoxtitlán", by Luis Castillo-Ledón. June: "Bibliografía Centro-Americana de 1920"; "La inmutabilidad del derecho de propiedad", by Fernando González Roa; "Música y bailes criollos de la Argentina", by Julio Jiménez Rueda; "El Poder de las letras", by José López Portillo y Rojas; and "La Sombra de Karmídez", by José López Portillo y Rojas; and "la Sombra de Karmídez", by José Escobar.

A recent number of *Nueva Democracia*, which is published under the auspices of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America has

a very interesting article entitled "Turning friends against us in Latin America".

The *Pacific Review*, which is published quarterly by the University of Washington, at Seattle, is devoted largely to problems of the Pacific World. It treats of International relations, economics, history, art, and literature.

The Pan American Review publishes in recent issues articles and items as follows: December, 1920—"Aiding young Latin-Americans"; "Another trade conference (in Mexico)"; "Brazilian-American conference (in Mexico)"; "Brazilian-American conference"; "Carlos Valderrama, Peruvian composer-pianist", by Mary Siegrist; "Luncheon in honor of Dr. Victor Andrés Belaúnde"; "Report of the conference committee for the Dominican Republic"; "Unused tropical America and adverse exchange", by Fred A. G. Pape. March, 1921—"Gorgas memorial for Panama"; "A Great leader (Bolívar) honored": "The New York and Montevideo's mayors exchange greetings"; "The real future of Pan Americanism"; "Report of the conference committee for Guatemala". April—"The Americas in accord"; "An Effective peace palace" (in Cartago, Costa Rica); "President Harding on Pan Americanism". May-June—"Closer ties between Spain and Latin America"; "Cooperative efforts for Latin America"; "A New era for Colombia", by Earl Harding. July—"A Latin league"; "Memory of Bartolomé Mitre", by James Carson; "Mexican banks classified", by John Claussen; "The New Pan Americanism", by Graham H. Stewart; "Our place in Latin-American commerce".

Razón y Fe (Madrid) for January, 1921, contains the following: "Los Españoles y Magallanes en la expedición del estrecho", by C. Bayle; "La Misión española en Chile". February: "El Año pedagógico hispano-americano". May: "Crónica de Cuba". June: "II. Congreso de Geografía y Historia Hispano-Americanas", by C. Bayle. August: "Crónica de Cuba"; and "Una Página de geografía añeja", by C. Bayle.

The April (1921) number of *La Reforma Social* contains a review and discussion of the boundary question between Panama and Costa Rica, by Jacinto López and "Antecedentes jurídicos de la controversia, Laudo Loubet, and the Convención Anderson-Porras". It contains also:

"Elecciones espurias en Cuba", by H. T. Spinden; "Una Fase más de las elecciones en Cuba", by Orestes Ferrara; "La Independencia de las Filipinas", by J. A. Frear; "La Justicia en los Estados Unidos", by Jacinto López.—C. K. JONES.

Revista Bimestre Cubana (Habana), of which the well-known Dr. Fernando Ortíz, is editor, has published much interesting material in recent issues. In the issues for September-October, 1920 to May-July, 1921, continued papers appear as follows: "Catálogo de la Biblioteca de la Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de la Habana"; "Cristóbal Colón y el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo", by Ricardo U. Rousset; "Datos históricos cubanos" (dealing with various matters); and "Un catauro de cubanismos (Mamotreto de 'Cubicherías' lexicográficas)". "Apuntes históricos sobre la ciudad de San Felipe y Santiago de Bejucal", by Mercedes Herrera Reyes appeared in the issue for September-October, 1920; "Marcos de J. Melero" by Eduardo F. Plá, in that for November-December; and "Los Cabildos afrocubanos", by Fernando Ortíz, in that for January-February, 1921.

The *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, which is published in Santiago de Chile, is an excellent quarterly review. Each number is a good sized volume of serious and on the whole well-written papers that will prove a mine for the student of Hispanic America. In recent issues is found the following material: 3d quarter, 1920—"Biografía de Don Adolfo Ibáñez" (concluded), by Edulia Silva Salas; "Bosquejo histórico de la literatura chilena" (continued) by Domingo Amunátegui Solar; "Como y por qué se suprimió el castigo del 'guanti' en los colegios del estado", by Miguel Luis Amunátegui Reyes; "Cartas de don Bernardino Rivadavia a don Antonio Álvarez Jonte"; "Correspondencia de don Antonio Varas. Candidatura presidencial de don Manuel Montt (1850-1851)" (continued in the following numbers described): "Estudios históricos. Concepción a fines del siglo XVIII"; by Guillermo Feliú y Cruz; "Una Figura China encontrada en la Araucanía", by Fray Gerónimo de Amberga; "El Liceo de la Serena", by Julio Zenteno Barros; "Noticias de Chile (1831-1832)" by William S. W. Buschenberger (continued in the succeeding numbers described); "Resena historico biográfica de los eclesiásticos en el descubrimientos y conquista de Chile", by Tomas Thayer Ojeda (continued in succeeding numbers); "Revista de crítica bibliografía" (continued in succeeding numbers); "El Servicio sanitario en el ejército

chileno durante la guerra del Pacífico, 1879-1884", by Rafael Poblete M. (continued in following numbers); "Tradiciones, leyendas y cuentos populares recogidos en Carahue", by Ramón A. Laval (continued in succeeding numbers); "Vida del Doctor Juan Martínez de Rozas", by E. Montero Moore (continued in succeeding numbers), 4th quarter, 1920—"Actas de la Sociedad Chilena de Historia y Geografía"; "Un Alistamiento en 1915", by V. D. O.; "Las Biografías de los dos 'Cristobales de Molina' publicadas por el escritor peruano don Carlos A. Romero", by Tomás Thayer Ojeda; "Diario del viaje efectuado por el doctor Aquinas Ried desde Valparaíso hasta el lago Sanguihue, y de regreso (7 de Febrero de 1849 al 30 de junio del mismo año)", by Aquinas Ried; "Los Brujas de Chillán en 1749", by Omer Emeth; "Los Jesuitas en Chillán en el siglo XVIII", by Reinaldo Muñoz Olave; "Manes, temblores y volcanes", by Fernando Montessus de Ballore; "Nomina de los socios de la Sociedad Chilena de Historia y Geografía en 31 de diciembre de 1920"; "El Paraguay colonial y las provincias meridionales", by Fulgencio R. Moreno; "Séptima memoria que el secretario general de la Sociedad Chilena de Historia y Geografía y director de la Revista presenta a la junta general de socios celebrada el lunes 13 de diciembre de 1920"; "La Historia de los grandes lagos del Altiplano boliviano y la relación que pueden tener la fundación y destrucción del primer Tiahuanacu y con la existencia de los grandes mamíferos extintos de Ulloura", by Lorenzo Schmidt. First quarter, 1921—"Actas de la Sociedad Chilena de Historia y Geografía"; "Algunos datos sobre la geografía etnográfica, de parte del Paraguay y del alto Perú", by Fulgencio R. Moreno"; "El Ape-lido Castro durante la colonia", by Guillermo Cuadra Gómez; "Derretero del viage de Magallanes y su paso por el estrecho", by Javier Martín M.; "Episodio eclesiástico de la guerra del Pacífico", by Carlos Silva Cotapos; "Don Joaquín Vicuña y Larraín. Sus ascendientes y descendientes", by Santiago Marín Vicuña; "Los Indígenas de Ecuador", by Joaquín Santa Cruz (continued in the following number); "Límites entre las provincias de Atacama y Coquimbo", by Alberto Edwards (concluded in the following number); "Servicio Médico en las naos de Magallanes", by Vicente Daguine; "Sucinto paralelo entre Colón y Magallanes (Discurso pronunciado en la sesión solemne celebrada por la Universidad de Chile el 29 de Noviembre de 1920 en conmemoración del 4º centenario del descubrimiento del estrecho de Magallanes", by J. T. Medina; "El Valle longitudinal de Chile", by Fernando de Montessus de Ballore. 2nd quarter, 1921—"El Congreso

americano celebrado en Lima en 1864", by Miguel Varas Velásquez; "Guillermo Matta", by V. M. Valdivieso C.; "Historia del reino de Chile, situado en la América meridonal", by Fray Antonio Sors; "Liceo de la Serena", by Bernardo Ossandón; "La Junta de gobierno de 1810 y el consejo de Regencia y el virrey del Perú", by Enrique Matta Vial; "Noticia biográfica de Fray Antonio Sors", by J. T. Medina; "Las Primeras leyes electorales chilenas", by Juan B. Hernando E.; "Sobre una expedición a la Patagonia chilena", by Cristóbal M. Hicken; "Ventajas de la apertura del istmo de Ofqui", by Emilio De Vidts.

The *Revista de Ciencias sociales*, a new Mexican review under the direction of C. D. López, began publication in July of the current year. The following contributions are noted in the initial number: "La Capitalización interior", by Andrés Molina Enríquez; "Cuestiones sociales y económicas", by C. D. López; "La Deuda pública"; "La Evolución de la teoría de los impuestos según los economistas Seligman y Wagner", by Daniel R. Aguilar; "El Impuesto sobre las ganancias adoptado en toda la república", by Enrique Martínez Sobral; "Una Industria y una especulación," by Rafael Nieto; "Socialismo agrario y socialismo obrero en México", by José Covarrubias.—C. K. JONES.

Revista de Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora de Rosario (Bogotá), published on March 1 "Algo sobre Rodó", by José Echeverría; "Carta de Andrés Bello (1815) al gobierno de Cundinamarca sobre su estancia en Londres"; and "Don Víctor Mallarino", by R. M. C.

The *Revista de Costa Rica*, which is published in San José, Costa Rica, and now in its third year, is devoted to history, geography, geology, archaeology, natural history, ethnology, genealogy, etc. J. F. Trejos Quiros is its director general and it has a large staff of collaborators, among whom are scholars of international reputation. The first volume contains, among other things, the following; "Cartografía de Costa Rica", by Alejandro von Frantzius; "Viages a varias partes de la República de Costa Rica", by Bernardo Augusto Thiel; "El Mapa topográfico de Talamanca de Mr. William M. Gabb y la cartografía de Costa Rica en 1877", by Auguste Petermann; "Episodios coloniales," by Ricardo Fernández Guardia; "Nombres geográficos de Costa Rica", by Cleto González; "La Verdad histórica sobre la heroína dóña Rafaela de Herrera", by Ricardo Fernández Guardia; and "Cos-

tas suroccidentales de Costa Rica", by M. Obregón L. Recent issues contain articles as follows: February, 1921—"Acuerdo de la municipalidad de San José en la sesión del 24 de Julio de 1843"; "Contribución al estudio de las frutas de Costa Rica", by María Jiménez Luthmer; "Fray Rodrigo Pérez", by Pedro Pérez Zeledón; "Una piedra histórica" (the boundary stone near Santa Marta), by M. Gámez Monge. March—El Rincón de la Vieja", by Carlos Gagui; "Sobre la Unión de Centro-América", by Salomón de la Selva (transl. from THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, November, 1920). April-May—Ascensión al volcán Irazú, del Dr. Throlope", by Amelia M. Rohrmoser (transl. from the English); "Conflicto entre Panamá y Costa Rica" (reprinted from *Ibero Americana*, Madrid); "Demingo Jiménez", by Manuel J. Jiménez; "Nombres geográficos de Costa Rica", by Cleto González Víquez; "Primera contribución al estudio de los zancudos de Costa Rica", by Anastasio Álfaro. June—"Orígenes de los costarricenses", by Cleto González Víquez (continued in succeeding numbers); "La Subregión fitogeográfica costarricense", by Carlos Wercklé (continued in succeeding numbers); "Ujarráz", by Eladio Prado. July and August—"Curiosidades de Costa Rica" by M. Gámez Monge; "Los Microbios del latex. Interesante descubrimiento de un sabio costarricense", by Gustavo Michaud; "Notas sobre . . . vertebrado fosil . . . de Cartago", by J. Fidel Tristán; "San José en 1858", transl. from Anthony Trollope; "Unión Ibero-Americana. Concurso para 1922". September—"Los Fundadores de la República"; "La Independencia de Costa Rica"; "Pensamientos de los fundadores de la República".

The September, 1921 number of *Revista de Costa Rica* presents short biographies of the following "Fundadores de la República": Florencio del Castillo; Rafael Francisco Osejo; Manuel García Escalante; Juan de los Santos Madriz; Joaquín de Yglesias; José María de Peralta; Joaquín Bernardo Calvo; Ramón Jiménez; José Santos Lombardo; José Mercedes de Peralta; Victor de la Guardia; Juan Mora Fernández; Rafael G. Escalante; Manuel María de Peraeta; José Rafael de Gallegos; Antonio Pinto; Agustín Gutiérrez Hermenegildo Bonilla; Félix Fernández; José Francisco de Peralta; Rafael Barreta; Santiago Bonilla; Nicolás Carrillo; Manuel Alvarado; Joaquín Oreamuno; Mariano Montealegre; Eusebio Rodríguez; Narciso Esquivel; Gregorio José Ramírez; and Joaquín Estanislao Tarazo. Portraits are published of most of the above.

Gustave A. Frederking, in the July, 1921, number of *Revista de Economía Argentina*, which is published by Dr. Alejandro Bunge, has an article on "Carlos Alfredo Tornquist. Nuevo Académico de la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas". Other papers are as follows; "Desnivel internacional del poder de comprar de la moneda", by Alejandro E. Bunge; El "Doctor Adolfo Davila. Sus ideas y enseñanzas sobre los problemas económicos argentinos", by Carlos Alfredo Tornquist; "Expresión gráfica de hechos económicos".

Revista de Filosofía, for January, 1921, contains, among other articles, the following: "Hacia un nuevo derecho internacional", by Arturo Orzábal Quintana; "La personalidad de Urquiza", by Antonio Sagarna; "Psicología del conquistador español del siglo XVI", by R. Blanco-Fombona; "Sinopsis sobre la historia de las ideas sociales argentinas", by Raúl A. Orgaz.—C. K. JONES.

La Revista Mexicana, which was published in Washington under the auspices of the government of Mexico, suddenly suspended publication a few months ago. This periodical, although one of propaganda, contained much interesting material. Special mention should be made of the study that ran through many numbers, entitled "Mexican byways and Highways", by the editor, George F. Weeks. A section in each number was devoted to a discussion of the oilfields of Mexico and oil news. Some of the material appearing in the last few issues was as follows: "March, 1921—Bancos que operan hoy en México"; "High cost of living unknown (in Mexico)"; "Mexican children's congress"; "Mexican government most liberal"; "Mexican mining statistics", by Francisco Rivas; "Obregón urges needed reforms"; "The Pan American labor congress", by Samuel Gompers; "Progress of the state of Durango", by Alberto Terrones; "Reciprocity urged for two republics"; "The State of the Mexican Republic". April—Las Controversias entre México y los Estados Unidos"; "How about the Mexican", by Don H. Biggers; "Leniency to American lawbreakers"; "The Mexican petroleum question", by L. G. Ballesteros, Jr.; "Old banks to renew business"; "Revolutionary damage claims"; "The Stanford University Medal," by Percy Alvin Martin; "Through Tamaulipas and Nuevo Leon," by Catherine Vesta Sturgis. May—"The Actual situation in Porto Rico," by Santiago Iglesias; "Assistance to be given native colonists"; "Conclusion of the Benton case"; The State of Sonora"; "The West coast of Mexico", by Leo Frederic Lynch;

"Education work in Mexico"; "Foreign trade of Mexico"; "Impecunious immigrants not wanted in Mexico". July—"Appeal for fair play to Mexico"; "Attitude of the United States toward Mexico as seen in Argentina"; "Fifty million bonds issued to pay for expropriated lands"; "Interchange of students"; "Prehistoric Chinese in Mexico"; "Special commission to look after Mexican interests in the United States". August—"Report of national railway lines"; "Celebrating Mexico's independence day"; "Desarrollo del comercio Mexicano"; "The Interchange of scholarships", by Frank Bohn; "Mexican patriotic club organized in Mexico"; "Victoriano Huerta's debt", by Rafael Nieto.

The *Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires* is a dignified publication and is in all respects a review worthy of the great university which has given it name. The number for October–December, 1919, contains the following excellent material: "Un Auto del Cabildo de Lujan sobre instrucción primaria obligatoria. Año 1773", by Juan Probst; "Bibliografía de bibliografías argentinas", by Narciso Binayán; "Un Casamiento en 1805", by Carlos Correa Luna; La "Doctrina Drago", by Ernesto Quesada; "Las Inmigraciones de los Kilmes y la historia de los mismos", by S. A. Lafone; "Sobre la organización de la protección y asistencia de la infancia", by Gregorio Aráoz Alfaro; "Sobre la personalidad moral de San Martín. Nuevos documentos para su estudio", by Ricardo Levene; "La Universidad y la democracia", by F. Pedro Marotta. January–June, 1920: Bibliografía doctoral de la Universidad de Buenos Aires", by Marcial R. Candioti; "Metodología del estudio científico del castellano," by M. de Toro y Gómez; "Los perjuicios resultantes de las guerras para la población civil", by J. A. García.

In *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for January, 1921, appeared: "The Louisiana background of the colonization of Texas", 1763–1803", by Mattie Austin Hatcher; "A Ray of light on the Gadsden treaty", by J. Fred Rippey; and a further instalment of "Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar", by A. K. Christian (also an instalment in the April number). April: "Donnelson's mission to Texas in behalf of annexation", by Annie Middleton; "Some precedents of the Pershing expedition into Mexico", by J. Fred Rippey. June: "The annexation of Texas and the Mississippi democrats", by James E. Winston; "Journal of Lewis Birdsall Harris, 1836–1842"; "The New régime in Mexico", by Charles W. Hackett; "The Texas convention of 1845", by Annie Middleton.

Zabala and Maurin, dealers in French and Spanish books and art, 135 West 49 St., New York, have recently issued an interesting catalogue, of 80 pages, entitled *Letras de España America*, which shows a comprehensive stock of books, both historical and literary, about Spain and Spanish America. The insertion of portraits of authors is a feature of special interest.—C. K. JONES.

Dr. Alberto Haas, in his "Psicología del pueblo argentino", an article in the September number of the *Revista de Filosofía* has made a valuable contribution to the study of the national character of the Argentine people. It is of special interest to North Americans students since it involves a comparison of the cultural and psychological characters of Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic America, in which respect it correlates with Rodo's study of the utilitarianism of puritan United States in his *Ariel*. Dr. Haas has arranged the material to the following sections:

1. Formación del coloniaje americano; 2. El criollo y los elementos de su origen; 3. Orientaciones ideológicas de la nacionalidad argentina; 4. Consecuencias económicas y políticas de la psicología argentina; 5. Causas y efectos de la inmigración hasta la gran guerra; 6. Encauce de las nuevas corrientes inmigratorias.—C. K. JONES.

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- Altamira y Crevea, Rafael: La política de España en América. Valencia, Editorial Edela, 1921. Pp. 230, (2).
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- Arenas B., Arturo: Bolivia en el Pacífico. La Paz, Imp. Casa Editora Mundial, 1920. Pp. XV, 210.
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